

MEHMED THE CONQUEROR'S GREEK SCRIPTORIUM*

JULIAN RABY

The mystique of the Ottoman Seraglio among Europeans developed in relation to its inaccessibility. For seventeenth-century observers there was no more impenetrable and alluring area of the Ottoman palace than the Harem, but for those of more cerebral bent there was a second inaccessible and intriguing section—the Library. The library was believed to contain, apart of course from Islamic works, numerous Greek manuscripts which were the remnants, so rumor persisted, of the Imperial Byzantine Library.¹

This alleged imperial provenance excited the efforts of European bibliophiles, who expected the library to hold textual or paleographic treasures rescued from the sack that followed the city's capture on 29 May 1453. It was well known from eyewitness European accounts, such as that of Isidorus of Kiev, and from the fifteenth-century Byzantine chronicler Dukas, that quantities of books had been destroyed or at best dispersed.² Lauro Quirini, writing from Crete on 15 July 1453 and claiming the fugitive Isidorus as his source, puts the number of volumes destroyed at over 120,000, a loss that he claimed would lead to the destruction of the Greek language and literature: "Ultra centum et viginti milia librorum volumina, ut a reverendissimo cardinali Ruteno accepi, devastata. Ergo

et lingua et litteratura Graecorum tanto tempore, tanto labore, tanta industria inventa, aucta, perfecta, peribit, heu peribit!"³

Isidorus himself, in letters despatched, like Quirini's, from Crete soon after the fall, is not specific about numbers, but he describes the victors trampling evangeliaries and ecclesiastical books under foot.⁴

Fears about the destruction of the Greek literary heritage were echoed by Pius II⁵ and by Cardinal Bessarion,⁶ who claimed that he devoted all his energies to acquiring and preserving Greek manuscripts after the fall. Given such laments, it was inevitable that any rumor that the imperial library had been even partially preserved would provoke a wave of excitement among European scholars.

The rumor does not, however, appear to have been current earlier than the first decade of the seventeenth century, when Domenico Hierosolimitano, a former Jewish physician to the Sultan Murad III, composed an account of the Ottoman Saray, including a description of the library, which contained, he claimed, parchment codices with jeweled covers, in all some 120 manuscripts from the library of Constantine the Great.⁷ Domenico's account gained wide currency through being plagiarized by Michel Baudier in his popular work on the Ottoman palace.⁸ A variant rumor, which emphasized that the manuscripts came from the library of the last rather than the first Byzantine emperor, circulated among the European community of Pera and was known to Pietro della Valle in 1615⁹

*I am grateful to the Librarians of the Topkapı Museum, Drs. Filiz Çağman and Zeren Tanındı, for their generous help, and to the authorities of the Museum for their permission to publish the manuscripts. Dr. Ünsal Yücel kindly assisted with the tracing of the watermarks, and I owe thanks to Professor V. Ménage, John Simmons, and Nigel Wilson, for their contributions and criticisms.

¹M. Penzer, *The Harem* (London, 1936; repr. 1967); Jacobs; Omont; Deissmann; Ebersolt. Pero Tafur refers to the Library in the Imperial Palace shortly before the fall: M. Lëtts, trans., *The Travels and Adventures of Pero Tafur*, Broadway Travellers (London, 1926), 145.

²Isidorus: Pertusi (1976), I, 52 f., 76, 381 note 25. Dukas, XLII, 1, Bonn ed. (1834), 312; *Historia Turco-Byzantina* (1341–1462), ed. V. Grecu (Bucharest, 1958), 391–93; cf. Gennadios, ed. L. Petit, X. A. Sidéridès, and M. Jugie, *Oeuvres complètes de Gennade Scholarios*, I (Paris, 1928), 287–88, esp. 288, lines 18 f. Kritoboulos confirms the destruction of books but his account was not circulated in the West: (1963), 143; (1954), 74.

³Pertusi (1977), 227, lines 95–99.

⁴Pertusi (1977), 182–83.

⁵Pertusi (1976), II, 46, 52, 54, 435–36 note 7; Pertusi (1977), 182 note 68.

⁶Pertusi (1977), 182.

⁷Jacobs, 6, 30, 32 f., 66 f.

⁸M. Baudier, *The History of the Imperial Estate of the Grand Seigneurs . . .*, trans. Edward Grimston (London, 1635); Jacobs, 100.

⁹Letter of 27 June 1615: Jacobs, 82–91. Pietro della Valle, *I viaggi di P. d. V.*, I (Rome, 1650), 267–68.

and Peter Mundy in 1618.¹⁰ Della Valle made efforts on behalf of the Grand Duke of Tuscany to acquire the *Decades* of Livy, although, predictably enough, without success.¹¹

The legend of the imperial Byzantine library was put to the test in 1687 when the French ambassador, M. Girardin, persuaded an Italian renegade in the palace to allow the Greek manuscripts to be consulted. Out of "no more than 200," fifteen Greek volumes, plus one Latin manuscript, were selected for the French royal collection and despatched in 1688 to Paris. Even this selection contained no revelations, and Girardin dismissed the rest as standard texts in poor condition. It was a myth, in other words, that the imperial library of Byzantium had been preserved, or that the Saray contained any notable literary treasures.¹²

Following Girardin's acquisitions, many of the remaining manuscripts were sold, and some twenty were subsequently purchased by Count Marsigli.¹³ The result, according to Girardin, was that no Greek manuscripts were left in the Ottoman Saray.¹⁴ European interest in the Saray Library's western holdings consequently waned in the eighteenth century, to be revived in the nineteenth. For the collection, having disappointed in its historical associations, still held the promise of textual rarities, but here too hopes were shattered with the publication of Mordtmann's summary index of titles.¹⁵ What had masqueraded as the *Decades* of Livy, for example, turned out to be Polybius' *History*, a Turkish annotation on the flyleaf reading

NOT

This is the history of the 'philosoph' Libu'ūs
(Bū Libu'ūs nām filisūfuñ tā'rīhīdir)

BUT

"It is the history of the 'philosoph' Būlibu'ūs"
(Būlibu'ūs nām filisūfuñ tā'rīhīdir).¹⁶

The only unique text to be discovered was not a classical work, but Kritoboulos' *History of Mehmed the Conqueror*. The discovery was significant, however, for interest was now redirected from the collection's contents to its formation. The bulk of the collection, it was suggested, was formed by Mehmed the Conqueror, and the western manuscripts, though they failed to reflect the glories of the Byzantine imperial library, testified to the cultural catholicity of this Ottoman Sultan, described by Kritoboulos, in a marginal note, as a "philhellene."¹⁷

The romantic appeal of the idea that Mehmed the Conqueror took pains to preserve the Byzantine heritage blinded proponents such as Deissmann to the circularity of their argument. The library cannot be used as an index of Mehmed's philhellenism unless it can be proved that he collected Greek manuscripts. There is, though, all too little evidence, external or internal, to determine when individual manuscripts entered the Saray, so that the claim that the collection was formed by Mehmed must depend on the prior assumption that Mehmed had humanist leanings.¹⁸

More significant than the ill-documented claim that Mehmed salvaged Greek manuscripts from the

¹⁰ British Museum, Dept. of Oriental Antiquities, 1974, 6–17. 013, fol. 15^v (formerly British Museum Library, add. 23,880). The volume is inscribed "p.m. Constantinople A.1618" and is certainly to be identified with Peter Mundy's lost "little booke": Sir R. C. Temple ed., *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia 1608–1667*, Hakluyt Society (Cambridge, 1907), I, 26–27.

¹¹ Jacobs, 100–4.

¹² D'Ansse de Villosion, "Des manuscrits grecs et latins qui de la Bibliothèque des anciens Empereurs grecs et de celle du Sérail de Constantinople sont passés dans la Bibliothèque impériale, avec éclaircissements sur quelques-unes des plus fameuses bibliothèques de la Grèce," *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 8 (1810), 3–31; Omont, I, 251 f.; Jacobs, 73, 120 f. On Jacobs' claim that the Girardin MSS originated not from the Saray but from the private collection of Prince, later Sultan, Mustafa (d. 1639): F. Babinger, "An Italian map of the Balkans, presumably owned by Mehmed II, the Conqueror (1452–53)," *Imago Mundi*, 8 (1951), 8–15. For the Latin MS by Taccola, see G. Scaglia, *Mariano Taccola, De machinis. The engineering treatise of 1449*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1971); I. Dumitriu-Snagov, *Tărice Române în secolul al XIVea (Codex Latinus Parisinus - 7239. Pauli Sanctini Ducensis Tractatus de re militari et machinis bellicis)* (Bucharest, 1979).

¹³ P. Moraux, *Aristoteles Graecus. Die griechische Manuskripte des Aristoteles* (New York, Berlin, 1976), I, 61–62.

¹⁴ Omont, I, 260.

¹⁵ A. Mordtmann, "Verzeichnis der Handschriften in der Bibliothek Sr. Maj. des Sultans," *Philologus*, 9 (1854), 582–83.

¹⁶ TKSM, *GI* 25: Deissmann, 67–8, cat. no. 25; Jacobs, 101; A. Mordtmann, "Handschriften in Konstantinopel," *Philologus*, 5 (1850), 758–61.

¹⁷ TKSM, *GI* 3: Deissmann, 43–4, cat. no. 3; E. Jacobs, "Mehmed II, der Eroberer, seine Beziehungen zur Renaissance und seine Bücherversammlung," *Oriens*, 2 (1949), esp. 28–9; Kritoboulos (1870), (1954), (1963).

¹⁸ Dating the entry of Western MSS into the Saray is complicated by the fact that numerous 15th-century MSS from the library of Matthias Corvinus were seized by the Ottomans during their capture of Buda in 1526: Jacobs, 134–49; C. Csapodi and K. Csapodi-Gárdonyi, *Bibliotheca Corviniana* (Shannon, Ireland, 1969); C. Csapodi, *The Corvinian Library, History and Stock*, Studia Humanitatis, Publications of the Centre for Renaissance Research, ed. T. Klamiczay, I (Budapest, 1972). TKSM, *GI* 46, for example, bears a dedication to King Wladislaus of Hungary and Bohemia (1490–1516): Deissmann, 83, cat. no. 46; and cf. TKSM, *GI* 68: Deissmann, cat. no. 68, a Latin gradual written in 1463 by the Hungarian Franciscus de Futhak. Furthermore, one of Amiroutzes' sons, Iskender Bey, appropriated the property of the former Patriarch Symeon, when he died intestate. The property included εὐαγγέλια κεκοσμημένα and, although the eventual fate of the appropriated items is not recorded, it is conceivable that some found their way into the Imperial Saray, particularly as Iskender Bey was *hazinedarbaşı* and was supported in his action by Sultan Bayezid: *Historia patriarchica*, Bonn ed. (1849), 130; *Ecthesis chronica*, 46–47.

ruins of Byzantium is evidence, to be reviewed below, that sixteen manuscripts (fourteen still in the Saray; one formerly in the Saray and now in Paris; and another in the Vatican) were produced at Mehmed's court. A nucleus of the Greek manuscripts thus represents the library not of the last Byzantine Emperor of Constantinople, but of the first Ottoman Sultan of Istanbul.

All sixteen manuscripts, details of which are found in the Checklist, have or at one time had Islamic bindings, complete with the typical envelope-flap or *mikleb* (figs. 1–16). The *mikleb* is attached on Islamic manuscripts to the left-hand or lower cover; on the Greek manuscripts the *mikleb* has been transposed to the right-hand cover, to correspond to the change in the direction of the text.

Of the fourteen Topkapı manuscripts which it has been possible for me to inspect in person, a total of thirteen have had the textual area ruled on an Islamic *mistar*, a frame on which the margins and linings are laid out with thread.¹⁹ The *mistar* is placed underneath each page so that in the burnishing process a faint impression of the rulings is left on the paper as a guide for the calligrapher (fig. 20). All of the manuscripts are written on European paper, with the possible exception of *GI 17*, the *Testament of Solomon* (which uses watermarked European paper, however, for its pasteboarding); and in every case the paper has been burnished *alla turchesca*.

The manuscripts are securely dated or datable to Mehmed's reign on internal evidence such as colophons and watermarks (Table and Key). (Paleographic or textual considerations which confirm this dating we shall return to shortly). Three of the manuscripts, the Moschopoulos *Grammar*, *GI 15*, the Monachos *Lexicon*, *GI 4*, and the Michael Aichmalotes version of the *Diegesis*, *GI 6*, are dated the equivalent, respectively, of A.D. 1463, 1464, and 1474. The watermarks used in the Moschopoulos and Monachos manuscripts provide a basis for dating two further manuscripts to the period around 1464; *GI 16*, and *GI 18*. In the case of *GI 16* this dating is corroborated by watermarks found in

dated material of independent, but still Levantine, provenance; namely, three sets of Ottoman documents (one from the Bursa *shari'a* court of Sha'bān 867/April 1463, the others *tapu* registers of 870/1465–66 and 872/1467–68) and a Greek manuscript of 1464 by the scribe Michael Lygizos.

Both *GI 3* and *GI 12* can be assigned to the period 1466–67 on the evidence of watermarks used in two Greek manuscripts dated 1466 and 1467 (Vat. Ott. 395; Paris 1969, respectively), the 1466 manuscript having been copied in Constantinople by Thomas Prodromites.²⁰ The watermarks thus confirm the textual evidence of *GI 3*, Kritoboulos' *History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, whose narrative breaks off with the close of the year 1467.

Three of the Saray Greek manuscripts, *GI 24*, *GI 26*, and *GI 31*, are linked by their use of two main variants of the Scissors & Star watermark, referred to here as *Ciseaux W* & *Ciseaux X* (figs. 21 N and 21 O), although there are significant differences in size. No precise parallels for either appear to have been published so far, but the type was evidently restricted to a brief period, for Piccard has recently published seven variants dating from 1478 to 1483. (Piccard's findings agree with Briquet's dates of 1472 and 1475–79, and suggest a date of *ca.* 1480 for this group of manuscripts.) More precise dating is provided, however, by another manuscript in the Topkapı, a Hebrew commentary by Mordechai ben Eliezer Comtino on Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed*, which is codicologically comparable to the Greek series in the Saray and which is dated 10 Kislev 5241, that is, 12 November A.D. 1480 (fig. 17).²¹ This includes the two variants of the Scissors and Star watermark (*Ciseaux W* and *Ciseaux X*). *Ciseaux X* occurs in the precise same form in *GI 31* and this Greek manuscript can now be dated to *ca.* 1480 with confidence. A closely similar version of *Ciseaux X* is to be found in *GI 24*, while a watermark close to *Ciseaux W* appears in *GI 26*, the Eudemos Rhetor manuscript. Confirmation that *GI 26* should likewise be dated to *ca.* A.D. 1480 comes from the pasteboarding of the manuscript which consists, as we shall see shortly, of Ottoman chan-

¹⁹ G. Bosch, J. Carswell, and G. Petherbridge, *Islamic Bindings and Bookmaking. A Catalogue of an Exhibition. The Oriental Institute, the University of Chicago. May 18–August 18, 1981* (Chicago, 1981), 41; M. B. Yazır, *Medeniyet Âleminde Yazı ve İslâm medeniyetinde Kalem Güzeli*, ed. U. Derman, II (Ankara, 1974), 208–10. cf. Juan de Yciar, *A facsimile of the 1550 edition of the ARTE SUBTILIS-SIMA, with a translation by Evelyn Shuckburgh, and an introduction by Reynolds Stone* (London, O.U.P., 1960), 37–38. I owe this reference to Dr. Robert Williams. For the Byzantine method of ruling, see J. Leroy, *Les types de reglure des manuscrits grecs*, Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes (Paris, 1976).

²⁰ Vogel-Gardthausen, 150.

²¹ TKSM, *GI 53* (239 × 169 cm.); Deissmann, 87, cat. no. 53. Mordechai Comtino (1420–pre-1487) was born in Constantinople and lived in Edirne for a period in the 1450s. He was a leading member of the Jewish intellectual community in Constantinople/Istanbul and was celebrated as a Talmudist, Commentator, Mathematician, and Astronomer. As he is said to have had contacts with Muslim savants, the production of the Topkapı MS deserves investigation: *The Jewish Encyclopaedia* (New York, London 1903), IV, 203; *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Berlin), V, cols. 637–40; *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem, 1971), V, cols. 859–61; s.v. Comtino.

cellery documents bearing a number of dates from the years 1479 and 1480.

All but two of the Saray Greek manuscripts under consideration can therefore be dated precisely to Mehmed's reign. Precision can be assured, if not to the year, at least to a *lustrum*. The two exceptions are *GI 33*, Oppian's *Halieutika*, and the miscellany *GI 10*. *GI 33* contains paper bearing two designs of watermark, neither of which can be paralleled exactly. The closest parallel for the *Croissant* watermark dates from 1483–85. None of the six watermarks found in *GI 10* can be matched with marks so far recorded for any Levantine document, and the western comparisons detailed by Briquet are valid only for type, not size. It is not surprising therefore that the dates yielded by Briquet's examples are at variance and range from the 1420s to the 1480s. On balance, however, a date in the late 1460s or 1470s seems probable. This would be confirmed if, as is possible, the same scribe was responsible for both this manuscript and *GI 12*, which can in turn be dated to 1467 by its watermark (figs. 36 and 37). The two MSS are, then, unlikely to be far distant from each other in date.^{21a}

The evidence of the watermarks is threefold, indicating that we are dealing with a related group of manuscripts, produced in Istanbul, in the second half of the fifteenth century, more precisely between about 1460 and 1480. The correlation of dates and marks suggests a homogeneous production, which is confirmed by similarities in binding, structure, and decoration. To take a single example, *GI 15* is dated 1463, and its cover bears the same decorative stamp as the undated manuscript *GI 18* (figs. 8 and 6). *GI 18* can in turn be dated to about 1464 by comparison of its watermark with one used in *GI 4*, whose colophon states that it was copied in 1464. The occurrence of the same watermarks in independent Greek manuscripts whose colophons record that they were produced in *Constantinople* in 1464 and 1467, and in Ottoman archival documents also of the 1460s, makes an Istanbul provenance probable, and this too agrees with the Oriental character of the bindings.

The evidence so far points to an Istanbul provenance soon after the fall of Constantinople. It is

insufficient, however, to prove that the manuscripts came from an Ottoman court atelier, but a connection with the court can be established by a combination of textual, scribal, and codicological considerations.

That at least one Greek manuscript was produced for the Sultan is incontestable. Kritoboulos of Imbros' *History of Mehmed the Conqueror* opens with a dedicatory epistle to the Sultan: "To the Supreme Emperor, King of Kings, Mehmed the fortunate, the victor, the winner of trophies, the triumphant, the invincible, Lord of land and sea, by the will of God, Kritoboulos the Islander, servant of thy servants." Kritoboulos sets forth his motives in writing the *History*, namely, to make known to his fellow Greeks the Sultan's great exploits, which "are in no way inferior to those of Alexander of Macedon."²²

The comparison with Alexander the Great becomes the *leitmotiv* of Kritoboulos' work, which covers the period from Mehmed's accession in 1451 until the winter of 1467. It is frequently claimed, however, that Mehmed knew the story of Alexander only via the Islamic version of the Alexander Romance, either in Nizāmi's Persian or Aḥmedī's Turkish rendering of the *Iskendernāme*.²³ This is disproved by the Saray copy of Arrian's *Anabasis*, the standard classical Life of Alexander the Great, a manuscript which can be dated to the 1460s by the watermarks, which is of similar format to Kritoboulos' *History of Mehmed the Conqueror* and which is written by the same scribe as the Kritoboulos manuscript (figs. 24 and 25). As the unicum Kritoboulos manuscript in the Saray is presumed to be Kritoboulos' autograph and dedication copy, the Saray Arrian would appear to be a pendant volume intended to enable the Sultan to appreciate for himself the validity of his neo-Alexander image.²⁴

This image was cultivated by the Sultan from his youth. Latin contemporaries who were witness to the siege, such as Isidorus and Jacopo Tedaldi, or who met with the Sultan soon after, such as Sagundino, testify to Mehmed's interest in ancient history, in particular the history of Alexander the

²² Kritoboulos (1963), 25–31; (1954), 3–6.

²³ Pertusi (1977), 186–90; F. Babinger, "Mehmed der Eroberer, und Italien," *Byzantion*, 21 (1951), 141–42.

^{21a} Another of the Saray Greek manuscripts—*GI 19* (n.d.; 136 × 94 [80 × 47] mm.) is problematic because its binding (fig. 5) connects it with the group under discussion. However, it can be dated by its watermarks to early in the second decade of the fifteenth century; its scribe, moreover, is "very probably" to be identified as Isidorus of Kiev, the future Latin cardinal (d. 1463), and it is inconceivable that Isidorus should have written a MS for Mehmed. Moraux, *Aristoteles*, 373–75; Harlfinger, II, 27.

²⁴ The relationship between the two MSS has already been noted by D. Harlfinger, *Specimina griechischer Kopisten der Renaissance*. I, *Griechen des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1974), 32, pls. 70–71; cf. Harlfinger, vol. II, where a date of 1463 for the Arrian MS is suggested. According to Mordtmann (see *supra*, note 15), the Saray Library formerly included a copy of Quintus Curtius Rufus' *Life of Alexander*.

Great.²⁵ Mehmed's Alexander ideal cannot be dismissed as a fabrication of the humanist West. His territorial ambitions were global, and were fueled, as Quirini specifies, by his knowledge of Arrian's *Anabasis*: "Quam ob rem sese principem orbis terrarum gentiumque omnium, idest alterum Alexandrum, et esse et dici vult. Unde et Arianum, qui res gestas Alexandri diligentissime scripsit, quotidie ferme legere consuevit."²⁶

Comparison of the bindings of the Saray Kritoboulos and Arrian manuscripts is no longer possible, however, since the original binding of the Kritoboulos, described by Deissmann as "orientalisch," disappeared during the manuscript's recent restoration (fig. 7).

Another Greek manuscript, the *Testament of Solomon*, GI 17, seems to have been designed as one of a pair for the Sultan's library, although its companion was not a Greek work but an Arabic translation from the Syriac. The codicological correspondence between the *Testament* and the *Kitāb Dāniyāl al-nabī* (Ayasofya 3367) is striking: both are of similar format and paper, with identical covers, consisting of an outer face of plain crimson velvet edged with tan leather (figs. 9 and 10).²⁷ They correspond in subject too, the *Testament* being a magical treatise which served, like the *Book of the Prophet Daniel*, for prognostications.²⁸ The Saray copy of the *Testament* carries no reference to a dedicatee, whereas the introduction of the Ayasofya *Kitāb Dāniyāl* states that it was written for the library of Sultan Mehmed, son of Murad, son of Bayezid (fol. 1r): "bi rasm khizānat . . . al-Sulṭān bin al-Sulṭān bin al-Sulṭān Sulṭān Muḥammad bin al-Sulṭān Murād bin Bāyazīd Khān [sic]. . . ." The genealogical error notwithstanding, the dedicatee is Mehmed II. This manuscript's dedication to Mehmed thus entails the association of its companion volume, the *Testament of Solomon*, with the Sultan.

The Saray copy of the *Diegesis* (figs. 2 and 27), written by Michael Aichmalotes in 1474, cannot be directly associated with Mehmed the Conqueror, but it should be noted that the Anonymous Chronicles record that Mehmed questioned "Rum and

Frankish" *literati* on the history of Hagia Sophia and the city of Constantinople, and that both Persian and Turkish versions of the *Tā'rīḥ-i Ayasofya* exist from the latter part of Mehmed's reign.²⁹ Their precise relationship to the Aichmalotes text still remains to be established, but it is not impossible that the Aichmalotes manuscript reflects the Sultan's interest in the history of the Justinian church and the antiquities of Constantinople. Even the scribe's name—Aichmalotes or Prisoner—may be significant in the context.

Indeed, there is additional evidence to indicate that Michael Aichmalotes' *Diegesis* manuscript and others of our group were bound in an Islamic atelier attached to the court, as opposed to an independent Greek bindery with "Islamicizing" tendencies; and that some of the manuscripts at least were copied by scribes attached to the Ottoman chancellery. The doublure of the *Diegesis* has partially perished to reveal the pasteboarding at the joint which connects the *mikleb* to the cover (fig. 22). Fragments of Arabic script are visible, and though they are insufficient to allow the identification of any words, they nevertheless corroborate the Islamic connection suggested by the *Kitāb Dāniyāl*. This "Islamic connection" is made clearer by the discovery of nine sheets of Ottoman chancellery documents used for the pasteboarding of the Eudemos Rhetor manuscript, GI 26 (fig. 23). The sheets, written in the chancellery script known as *siyāqat*, represent the efforts of an apprentice scribe in the finance section of the Ottoman chancellery who has been practicing different forms of entry. The latest date included is Dhū'l Hijja 884/February 1480, which can be taken as the terminus post quem for the binding.³⁰ It agrees, moreover, with

²⁵ These accounts are conveniently collected by Pertusi (1977), 188–90.

²⁶ Pertusi (1977), 190, 229.

²⁷ S. Ünver, "İkinci Selim'e kadar Osmanlı hükümdarlarının hususi Kütüphaneleri hakkında," *IV Türk Tarih Kongresi 1948* (Ankara, 1952), fig. 14. T. Öz, *Topkapı Sarayında Fatih Mehmet II. ye ait eserler* (Ankara, 1953), 21, mistakenly records the shelfmark as Ayasofya 2415.

²⁸ G. Vajda, "Dāniyāl," *EP*, s.v.; C. McCown, *The Testament of Solomon* (Leipzig, 1922).

²⁹ F. Giese, *Die altosmanischen anonymen Chroniken*. Teil I, *Text und Variantenverzeichnis* (Breslau, 1922), 74, lines 18–26; Teil II, *Übersetzung* (Leipzig, 1925), 99–100; cf. (Muṣṭafā) Ālī, *Kunh ul Aḥbār*, V (Istanbul, 1284/1867), 260–61. For Turkish and Persian translations of the *Tarih-i Ayasofya*, F. Tauer, "Notice sur les versions persanes de la légende de l'édification d'Aya Sofya," 487–94; *idem*, "Les versions persanes de la légende de la construction d'Aya Sofya," *Byzantinoslavica*, 15 (1954), 1–20; P. Wittek, "Miscellanea: 2. Zu den persischen Tarih-i Ayasofya," *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, 14 (1964), 266–70. The spelling Aichmalotēs, in place of the classical Aichmalotos, is suggested by Vogel-Gardthausen, 304.

³⁰ I am grateful to Professor V. Ménage for deciphering and analyzing these documents, and for the following comments: "Of those pasteboard sheets which have become unstuck five are inscribed. One appears to be an authentic page from a financial register, recording outstanding debts (*tetimme*) on three contracts. The others, by contrast, cannot be 'real' pages from a 'real' register. They must be from an exercise book of an apprentice in the finance department of the chancellery who was

the date of the *Ciseaux W* watermark of the paper used for the main text of the manuscript, variants of which are attested by Piccard for the period 1478–83. The same type of watermark occurs, as we have seen, in the Saray Maimonides manuscript, *GI 53*, which is dated 5241/1480 (fig. 21 N).

It is tempting to identify the copyist of the Eudemos Rhetor manuscript, *GI 26*, as the scribe of the Greek *firman* sent from Sultan Mehmed to Doge Giovanni Mocenigo on 10 July 1480 (figs. 39 and 40). This identification would confirm both the date of the Eudemos Rhetor manuscript and its association with the Ottoman chancellery. However, although the hands are closely comparable, that of the *firman* is neater and more angular. Nevertheless, the scribe of this *firman*—the only one of seven preserved in Venice from Mehmed's reign which was indubitably written by a native Greek-speaker—was responsible for a manuscript now in the Vatican (Vat. gr. 613), which has the peculiarity of being the only one of our group with Ottoman style illumination (fig. 42). Indeed, the illumination is close to that found on Islamic manuscripts dedicated to Mehmed II (figs. 42 and 43). The text of the Vatican manuscript is a Greek translation by Demetrios Kydones of St. Thomas Aquinas' *Summa contra Gentiles*. The volume must have been produced before 1475, for it was recorded in the Vatican library inventory of that year.^{30a}

practicing how to make entries of different types in various forms of registers. He practices, for example, entries from a *mufassal tahrir* register, listing the *ra'āyā* and the income from a village (*karye*), as well as financial entries, calculations for the customs of Galata for 881–82/1476–78, the *mevacib- cemaat topçıyan- dergah- ali* for *Şevval* and the last two months of 884/December 1479–February 1480, and entries for gifts (*al-in'āmāt*). Some of the entries are partial, and there are several false starts and repetitions, repeated entries also occurring on different sheets. On one sheet the scribe practices how to write a word (*nahiye*, *karye*, etc.) across the page to make it figure as a sub-heading. The latest date appears to be the end of 884, i.e., February 1480. Even though the entries are not 'genuine but school-room examples,' it is unlikely that a *future* date would feature in an exercise, so that February 1480 is a terminus ante quem non for the binding of this volume" (letter 14 August 1979).

^{30a} The MS came to my notice too late for its watermarks to be included in the Table, but it has been added to the summary catalog below (n.d.; 292 × 229 mm.). The characteristic illuminated headpiece in Islamic MSS dedicated to Mehmed II consists of two sections: a rectangular cartouche usually dominated by white Kufic lettering, and an upper section of cresting. The illumination on fol. 1^r of Vat. gr. 613 consists solely of the cresting and dispenses with the inappropriate inscriptional band. Little illumination from Mehmed's period has been published so far, but see A. S. Ünver, *Fatih külliyesi ve zamanı ilim hayatı*, İstanbul Üniversitesi yayınlarından, no. 278 (İstanbul, 1946), pls. 33–39. The illumination reproduced here for comparison (fig. 43) is from a MS of Âtiqî, *Divan*, in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (P. 112, fol. 2^v), which bears a (damaged) dedicatory frontispiece to Mehmed II (see A. J. Arberry, M. Minovi and E. Blochet, *The Chester Beatty Library, A Catalogue of the Per-*

The scribe of the *firman* and the Vatican manuscript may also have been the copyist of *GI 33* (figs. 34, 40, and 41). Despite differences in the *beta* form there are striking similarities between the hands, in particular two paleographic idiosyncrasies which must make one seriously consider the identity of the scribes.

A strong family likeness exists between the hands of *GI 10*, *12*, and *31*; and *GI 12* and *31* can be attributed to the same scribe with reasonable certainty (figs. 35, 36, 37). Paleographically, *GI 17* is a related, but slightly removed, hand (fig. 38).^{30b}

None of the scribes of these works has so far been identified. By contrast, the identity of the scribe responsible for the Eudemos Rhetor manuscript, *GI 26*, can be established by comparison with a Greek manuscript in Paris, which was one of the fifteen acquired by Girardin in 1687 from the palace in Istanbul (figs. 33 and 39). Codicologically it is clear that this copy of the *Iliad*—Paris. gr. 2685—belongs to the Saray group under discussion: it has a similar oriental binding complete with envelope-flap, is written on burnished paper, and the rulings have been made on a *mustar*. Indeed, it is the same size as the Eudemos Rhetor manuscript, *GI 26*, and the decorative treatment of the central medallion of the outer covers and of the *rabat* in particular is comparable, although not identical (figs. 13 and 16 A, B). According to the colophon the scribe responsible for the Paris *Iliad* was John Dokeianos, who is otherwise recorded as a copyist, epistolographer, and encomiast of the Late Byzantine period. Dokeianos' biography, and the date and subject of the Paris manuscript, have a significant bearing on the history of this Greek scriptorium and on Mehmed the Conqueror's interest in classical literature.³¹

sian manuscripts and miniatures, I, ed. J. V. S. Wilkinson [Dublin, 1959], 28–29, cat. no. 112.)

^{30b} The two idiosyncrasies that link *GI 33* (fig. 34) and the *firman* (Venice, Archivio di Stato, Documenti turchi, B18bis, fasc. 14; text 195 mm., figs. 40–41) are: (a) a very large initial *omega*, which is found in the ante-penultimate line of fig. 41 and which matches closely the specimen in line 8 of fig. 34; (b) the *alpha supra lineam* occurring at the end of a line with an extravagant flourish before and after. This can be found on line 3 of fig. 34 and line 10 of fig. 41. Other similarities include: (c) *epsilon* linked to a following letter when it stands at the beginning of a line; (d) the combination of a circumflex accent with an *alpha* written above the line; (e) an open *theta* with initial flourish; and (f) a *xi* with four points, raised above the line and disposed obliquely. A link between the *firman* and Vat. gr. 613 is the curious way of writing the syllable *Kōn* in which the *omega* is written above the line (fig. 41, line 14; fig. 42, lines 5 and 7 from the bottom). As for the relationship of the Paris *Iliad* and *GI 26*, note the two mannered forms for the ligature of *tau* and *rho*; type 1: fig. 39, lines 1 and 11, and fig. 33, lines 4 and 13; type 2: fig. 33, lines 7 and 13. I owe these comments to the kindness of Nigel Wilson.

³¹ I have not studied this MS in person, and I am grateful to

Known works by Dokeianos reveal a man of extensive classical erudition and close ties with the Byzantine imperial family. They include an encomium of the Emperor Constantine IX, written in about 1450; panegyrics addressed to the Despot Theodore; and condolences to Demetrios Asanes on the loss of his three sons. From a letter to Moschos he emerges as a bitter foe of the Latins, and this enmity perhaps helps to explain why Dokeianos did not seek his fortune in the West. In 1458 he is believed to have been acting as tutor to Helen, daughter of Demetrios Palaiologos, the Despot of the Morea. In the same year Mehmed entered the Morea and despatched an envoy to Demetrios to propose a marriage alliance, with Helen to become the Sultan's wife. A further campaign in 1460 ensured Demetrios' submission; and in return the Despot was given a generous appanage by the Sultan. Demetrios' wife and daughter joined him in Edirne and Helen duly entered Mehmed's Harem.

What happened to Dokeianos at this juncture is not recorded, but he was evidently still alive in the mid- or late 1460s when he composed an epigram on the death of Gennadios Scholarios. The epigram suggests that he had in some way become involved with the reestablished patriarchate in Istanbul, and he is surely to be identified with the John Dokeianos recorded as a tutor at the patriarchal school in Istanbul in 1474.³² Although Dokeianos' whereabouts in the early 1460s are not documented, the epigram and his later presence in Istanbul make it probable that he accompanied the Despot Demetrios and Helen to the Ottoman court in 1460. It was then that Mehmed was able to make use of Dokeianos' scribal talents.

The signed *Iliad* is undated, and only one of its three watermarks is used in other manuscripts from this scriptorium. This is the *Couronne 31* which occurs in *GI 15* and *16*, both datable to *ca.* 1463. A corresponding date in the mid-1460s, and more specifically 1463, for the *Iliad* is validated by circumstantial evidence. Can it be coincidence that in 1462 Mehmed made a diversionary visit to Troy during his campaign against Mytilene? At Troy, ac-

cording to Kritoboulos, Mehmed enquired about the "tombs of the heroes—Achilles and Ajax and the rest"—heroes fortunate in the Sultan's eye to have had Homer as their eulogist.³³ Dokeianos' copying of the *Iliad* makes it difficult to dismiss this strange scene at Troy as a fantasy on the part of a sycophantic Greek courtier, Kritoboulos.

Not only is Mehmed's knowledge of Homeric lore possible, indeed probable in view of his education in ancient history, but his vision of Troy must have been colored by the long-standing western conceit, which had gained currency as early as the seventh century, that made the Turks, like the Franks, the descendants of the Trojans.³⁴ By consonantal metathesis *Teuceri* and *Turci* were assimilated, and the relevance of this assimilation in the fifteenth century can be gauged from Pius II's efforts to deny the identity of Turk with Trojan.³⁵ In Rome, according to Chalkokondylas, the fall of Constantinople was viewed as revenge for the fall of Troy; likewise Mehmed standing in the Ilium plain, and "shaking his head a little," could describe himself as avenging the Trojans and the East for all the injustice they had received from the West.³⁶ Mehmed was not alone in giving credence to this fallacy; the Trojan legend was common enough for Angiolello to note that one of the sons of *Turco*, the eponymous leader of the Trojans who had fled to Cilicia, was called *Caraman*!³⁷

Chronologically our sixteen Greek manuscripts can be divided into two groups, one from the mid-1460s, the other from the late-1470s. They form a homogeneous group in terms of binding structure, though they display considerable variety in decoration.

As for the paper, it is mostly European, of Genoese manufacture. Some identical papers, particularly varieties of the *Ciseaux* watermark, occur on a number of other Greek manuscripts whose colophons state that they were produced in Istanbul in the 1460s. These include a manuscript of 1461 by the well-known scribe Michael Apostoles and two,

³³ Kritoboulos, (1963), 297; (1954), 181.

³⁴ M. Eckhardt, "La légende de l'origine troyenne des Turcs," *Körösi Csoma-Archivum*, 2 (1926–32), 422–33; T. Spencer, "Turks and Trojans in the Renaissance," *Modern Language Review* 47/3 (1952), 330–33; S. Runciman, "Teuceri and Turci," *Medieval and Middle Eastern Studies in Honor of Aziz S. Atiya*, ed. S. Hanna (Leiden, 1972), 344–48.

³⁵ S. Runciman, *The Fall of Constantinople 1453* (Cambridge, 1965), 167–68.

³⁶ L. Chalkokondylas, *De origine ac rebus gestis Turcorum*, Bonn ed. (1843), 403. Cf. Kritoboulos references in note 33.

³⁷ Angiolello: I. Ursu, *Donado da Lezze, Historia Turchesca (1300–1514)* (Bucharest, 1909), 2.

Danica Lecco of the Bibliothèque Nationale for a detailed description, rubbings of the binding, and betagraphs of the watermarks. Further work is required on the former Saray Greek MSS now in Paris and Bologna.

³² P. Topping, "Greek Manuscript 1 (the works of Joannes Dokeianos) of the University of Pennsylvania Library," *The Library Chronicle*, 29 (1963), 1–15; H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane-Literatur der Byzantiner*, I (Munich, 1978), 131, 148; Krumbacher, 497; Vogel-Gardthausen, 170. For Helen Palaiologos, see D. A. Zakythinos, *Le despotat grec de Morée. I, Histoire politique* (Paris, 1932), 260 f., 268, 285 f.

dated 1464 and 1466, by Thomas Prodromites. Similarities in paper did not, however, extend to technique, because these manuscripts differ from the Saray Greek manuscripts in that the paper has not been burnished, and no use has been made of the *mistar*. These other manuscripts evidently emanate from a workshop or workshops independent of the Saray and less open to oriental techniques of production.³⁸

Watermarks, paper, burnishing, binding, and paleography, all point to the fact that our group of sixteen manuscripts was produced in the Ottoman Saray during the reign of Mehmed II, and were thus ultimately produced under the aegis of the Sultan. The fact of their production cannot, however, explain the motive of their commission. Several of the manuscripts can be linked with the Sultan himself; for the remainder, on the other hand, it proves more difficult to see a personal connection with Mehmed. Naturally, the motives of commission differed according to the intended audience; whereas in the one case one might argue a cultural influence of Byzantium, in the other there was a utilitarian bias which reflects the process of transition from Byzantine to Ottoman rule. We turn therefore to consider the historical context in which these manuscripts were produced.

Our group of Greek manuscripts indicates that Mehmed the Conqueror's response to the heritage of Byzantium went beyond mere salvage to at least partial assimilation.

Salvage may have occurred, but the identification of Greek manuscripts rescued by Mehmed is problematic. None are catalogued or annotated as coming from his collection, and none bear his imperial seal. The absence of his seal is no proof,

however, that they were not in his collection, since the only Islamic manuscripts so marked are those he gave away in a *waqf*. Those he retained for his personal library—there are over fifty known volumes with frontispiece dedication to Mehmed—almost all lack the seal. The majority of these are stamped instead with the seal of his son and successor, Bayezid II, who personally annotated many of the books on the frontispiece page. Under Bayezid, a member of the Fenari family drew up a catalog of the Semaniye Medrese Library, and he may likewise have been entrusted with the catalog of the Sultan's palace library.³⁹ If so, Fenari's catalog cannot have included many of the non-Islamic manuscripts because the only Greek codex with Bayezid's seal is the Paris copy of Plutarch's *Moralia*, one of the fifteen volumes acquired by Girardin in 1687. Bayezid's seal provides a terminus ante quem, therefore, for the acquisition of a manuscript by the Ottoman court; it fails to constitute proof, however, that the manuscript was acquired by Mehmed II.

The example of Mehmed the Conqueror's collection of antique and Byzantine statuary, for which there is good circumstantial evidence, and of his vast collection of Christian relics, for which there is the incontrovertible evidence of an Italian list drawn up on the orders of Bayezid II for offer to the King of France, makes it likely that Mehmed rescued Byzantine manuscripts as well. Indeed, listed among the relics was "lo evangelio de sancto Joanne evangelista scripto per mano de sancto Joanne chrisostomo, che fa grandi miraculj," proving that one ecclesiastical book was saved from being trampled under foot during the sack of Constantinople.⁴⁰ Moreover, Mehmed's attitude to his col-

³⁸ A. Θωμάς ὁ Προδρομίτης ὁ καστροφύλαξ:

1. Laur. 85.11, anno 1464

2. Vat. Ott. gr. 395, anno 1466. Constantinople Vogel-Gardthausen, 150; Harlfinger, vol. I.

B. Michael Apostoles:

Vat. Urb. gr. 91, anno 1461. Constantinople Vogel-Gardthausen, 305; Harlfinger, vol. I.

C. George Scholarios (Gennadios) and Matthew Kamariotes (?):

Escorial. gr. 336, ca. 1460

G. de Andrés, *Catálogo de los códices griegos, II. Códices 179–240* (Madrid, 1965), 232–33. Neither Vat. Ott. gr. 395 nor Vat. Urb. gr. 91 are on polished paper. I am grateful to M. Paul Canart of the Biblioteca Vaticana for this information. Both MSS were rebound in the 19th century (letter 30 April 1979). Eton College, MS 141: Strabo, *Geography*, copied in Constantinople in 1447 by Theodore Agallianos for Cyriacus of Ancona, is written on unpolished paper which has not been ruled on a *mistar*: (the binding is 18th century): M. R. James, *A descriptive catalogue of the manuscripts in the Library of Eton College* (Cambridge, 1895), 67–71; Patrinelis (1966).

³⁹ E.g., Süleymaniye Library, Fatih 3221, given in *waqf* to the Ayasofya medrese, contains Mehmed II's seals and a note by Mehmed (Şah Çelebi) b. Ali ül-Fenari; S. Ünver, *Fatih külliyesi ve zamanı ilim hayatı* (Istanbul, 1946), 11, 16 note 1, 52–56, 234–44, 292–93, pls. 35–36, 44, 62. For Şah Çelebi's catalog of books given by Mehmed II to the Semaniye medrese, *ibid.*, 11; T. Öz, "Topkapı Sarayı müzesi arşivinde Fatih II. Sultan Mehmed'e ait belgeler," *Belleten*, 14 (1950), 49–56. For the Fenari-zade, J. R. Walsh, *Fenârî-zâde, EP*, s.v.

⁴⁰ Both collections are discussed in detail in J. Raby, *El Gran Turco. Mehmed the Conqueror as a Patron of the Arts of Christendom*, D. Phil. thesis, Oxford, 1980 (unpublished). For the Italian list of relics, F. Babinger, "Reliquiensbacher am Osmanenhof im XV. Jahrhundert," *SBMün*, Philos.-hist. Klasse, 2 Heft (1956), esp. 20. Mehmed II also obtained an Armenian psalm-book during his 1473 Anatolian campaign. The celebrated Armenian doctor Amirtovlat of Amasya subsequently "found and delivered this holy book from captivity": A. Sanjian, ed. and trans. *Colophons of Armenian manuscripts 1301–1480. A source for Middle Eastern History* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), 325–26. A Byzantine MS that must have entered the Saray collection in the 15th century is *GI 13*, a 12th- or 13th-century exegesis of the Psalms, containing numerous miniatures; the outer face of its front cover,

lection of Christian relics provides an insight into his reaction to the Byzantine legacy. The motive behind the collection perplexed even near contemporaries such as Spandugino, who were unable to decide whether the relics' function was pragmatic or devotional.⁴¹ If, as has been claimed, the relics were assembled for diplomatic exchange or financial barter, it is surprising that Mehmed never disposed of one of the relics, unlike his son who took full advantage of the collection in his dealings with the West. The danger, then, is of arguing back from Bayezid's behavior to Mehmed's attitude. That Mehmed developed an active response to these relics of the New Jerusalem, a response that verged on *douleia*, is borne out by the story that the Sultan commissioned a *parvam picturam* of the Virgin and Child from the Venetian painter Gentile Bellini. The story, improbable as it first sounds, is confirmed by two independent Venetian authors, who both claim Bellini as their source, and by the discovery in Istanbul of a miniature of the Virgin and Child which has close morphological and stylistic affinities with Gentile Bellini's Berlin *Madonna*.⁴² Bellini's Istanbul *Madonna* in particular argues that Mehmed's attitude to the relics extended beyond mere physical appropriation to at least qualified *religio*.

The collection of Greek manuscripts produced in Mehmed's court could be held to provide comparable evidence of the Sultan's efforts at intellectual assimilation of Byzantine culture, of an interest, that is, in the relics of the New Rome. The presence of a Greek scriptorium in Mehmed's court raises questions, however, about the function of the Greek manuscripts. It needs to be clarified, if possible, whether the production of Greek manuscripts was intended for the Sultan's personal edification, or the education of members of his court, or both.

The sixteen Greek manuscripts from the Saray, Paris, and the Vatican divide into two categories. Into the first fall five, or possibly six, manuscripts which can be linked directly with the Sultan, and which are a reflection of his idiosyncratic tastes—Kritoboulos' *History of Mehmed*, the companion vol-

ume of Arrian's *Anabasis*, the *Iliad*, the *Testament of Solomon*, the Aichmalotes *Diegesis*, and perhaps the Greek translation of Buondelmonti. The majority of the manuscripts, on the other hand, are standard Byzantine educational texts with an especial emphasis on grammars and lexica. They served, it will be argued, a different purpose from those manuscripts associated with Mehmed himself.

Mehmed's personal demand for Greek manuscripts must be related to the vexed problem of his proficiency in literary Greek, whatever his mastery of colloquial. He was reputed in the sixteenth-century West to have known, apart from Turkish, some five languages; and even a contemporary, Giacomo da Langusco, credits him with *turcho greco et schiavo*. Such rumors are however difficult to substantiate. Mehmed must certainly have had an initial familiarity with Greek because he copied out both the Greek and the Arabic alphabets in one of his schoolbooks, preserved in the Topkapı; but knowledge of foreign languages is a matter of degree, and Mehmed's acquaintance with Greek was inadequate to enable him to converse with Gennadios, admittedly on theological matters, without the help of an interpreter.⁴³

Mehmed also requested translations of Greek texts, both religious and secular; many of these were entrusted to one of George Amiroutzes' sons, Mehmed Bey. Gennadios' two treatises on Christianity, written at the Sultan's behest, were duly translated into Arabic by the Kadi of Berrhoea, while an exegesis of the Creed, which Mehmed requested from the Patriarch Maximos III (1476–82), was also translated into Arabic.⁴⁴

Mehmed even directed his attention to the polytheism of Georgios Gemistos Plethon (d. 1452), to judge from a unique manuscript in the Topkapı which contains an Arabic translation of Plethon's *Compendium Zoroastreorum et Platoniorum dogmatum*, Plethon's entire collection of that fundamental neo-Platonic text, the *Chaldaean Oracles*, and fragments of his *Nomoi*, which included a hymn to Zeus!⁴⁵

According to his eulogist Kritoboulos, Mehmed's knowledge of Greek philosophy was dependent on

which is the original binding, has been stamped with a vesica-shaped interlace medallion (fig. 19) almost identical to one found on an Islamic manuscript of Mehmed's reign, Ayasofya 2819: Deissmann, 58–59; A. Muñoz, "Tre codici miniati della biblioteca del Serraglio a Costantinopoli," *Studi Bizantini* (Istituto per l'Europa Orientale), 5 (1925).

⁴¹ Babinger, "Reliquenschacher," 7; C. N. Sathas, *Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce*, IX (Paris, 1890), 169.

⁴² J. Raby, "Gentile Bellini's Istanbul *Madonna*" (in preparation).

⁴³ Pertusi (1976), I, 381, note 26; Pertusi (1977), 187–90; Patrinelis (1971); S. Ünver, *Fatih'in Çocukluk Defteri. Un cahier d'enfance du Sultan Mehmed Le Conquérant "Fatih"* (Istanbul, 1961).

⁴⁴ Patrinelis (1971), 352–53. For the Bible translation, see *Ecthesis chronica*, 36, lines 4–6; and the expanded version in the *Historia politica*, Bonn ed. (1849), 48, lines 10–15; cf. *Historia patriarchica*, Bonn ed. (1849), 119–24.

⁴⁵ J. Nicolet and M. Tardieu, "Pletho Arabicus. Identification et contenu du manuscrit arabe d'Istanbul, *Topkapı Serâi, Ahmet III 1896*," *JA*, 268 (1980), 35–57.

Arabic translations, although here he had the benefit of instruction from the Trapezuntine scholar George Amiroutzes, whose erudition, and perhaps too his family relationship with the Grand Vizier Mahmud Paşa, ensured a position of considerable influence at court. Amiroutzes also catered to the Sultan's interest in geography by compiling a wall chart from the discrete maps in the manuscripts of Ptolemy's *Geography*; with the help of one of his sons he marked the place-names in Arabic, and father and son collaborated on a translation of Ptolemy's text for the Sultan, two fifteenth-century copies of which are extant.⁴⁶ And Mehmed required translations from Greek and Latin for a fourth major interest—ancient history—since Sagundino reports “Alexandrum Macedonum et Gaium Cesarum precipue imitandos, delegit, quorum res gestas in linguam suam traduci effecit.” Other Latin translations are attested, such as Leonardo Bruni's commentary on Polybius, but what emerges from the known Greek translations is the scope of Mehmed's interest in the Byzantine and Hellenic tradition, an interest which ranged from theology and philosophy, to geography and history.⁴⁷

Seemingly conclusive proof of Mehmed's ignorance of Greek is to be found in George Trapezountios' treatise *On the Truth of the Christian Faith*, which that quixotic scholar dedicated to Mehmed only a month after the fall of Constantinople and in which he attempted to argue the doctrinal simi-

larities between Christianity and Islam and to promote the creation of a Muslim-Christian empire under the leadership of the young Sultan. In several passages George Trapezountios assumes that Mehmed will have to have the treatise translated before he can study it. Yet George's assumption is inadequate evidence of Mehmed's knowledge of Greek, because in 1453 he had no precise information on the Sultan's abilities. In 1465, on the other hand, he made the journey to Istanbul in a renewed effort to promote his politico-religious vision. After a stay of four months (Nov. 1465–18 March 1466) he returned, frustrated by his failure to have a personal meeting with Mehmed, who was engaged on campaign. Nevertheless, he was successful in developing a close association with Mehmed's influential tutor, George Amiroutzes, who helped him to write an introduction in Greek to Ptolemy's *Almagest*, which Trapezountios dedicated to the Sultan. There could be no more authoritative informant on Mehmed's proficiency in Greek than his tutor Amiroutzes, and it was presumably from Amiroutzes that Trapezountios derived the information he wrote to Pope Paul II in the autumn of 1466: “Apertius et latius rem omnem exposui *Grece* *quam* bene intelligit (sc. the Sultan), *Latinam minime*”⁴⁸ (my italics). There can be little doubt, then, that Mehmed had a “good knowledge” of Greek, even if it was not sufficient for exchanging theological niceties with the Patriarch. His demand for Arabic translations from the Greek may indicate no more than a greater familiarity with Arabic. Moreover, it should not be assumed that these translations were intended solely for Mehmed's benefit. They could have served to stimulate discussion among Muslim savants, and it is well known that Mehmed organized theological and philosophical debates.⁴⁹ The translations may have little bearing, therefore, on Mehmed's personal command of Greek; nonetheless, they testify to the polyglot skills concentrated at his court.

It was Mehmed's “Western” courtiers who played

⁴⁶ Kritoboulos (1870), 155, (1954), 208–9, (1963), 335; *Ecthesis chronica*, 21, 26–27, 35–38, 46–47; *Historia patriarchica*, Bonn ed. 97 f., 119–24, 129–31; *Historia politica*, Bonn ed., 32, 38–9, 47–8, 59–60. N. Tomadakes, “Ἐτοῦρκευσεν ὁ Γεώργιος Ἀμιρούτζης;” *Ἐπ. Ἐτ. Βυζ. Στ.*, 18 (1948), 99–143; G. Moravcsik, *Byzantino-Turcica*, 2nd. ed., I (Budapest, 1958), 268–69. On Mehmed's Ptolemy studies, Deissmann, 29–34, 69, cat. no. 27, 89–93. The precise relationship between Mehmed's Arabic MSS and the Greek Ptolemy MSS in the Saray still requires elucidation. On the Arab copies, Ayasofya 2596 and Ayasofya 2610: H. Ritter, “Philologica VI,” *Der Islam*, 19 (1931), 1–17. Deissmann, 33, mistakenly follows Jacobs, 125, in thinking that the oval seal that appears in Ayasofya 2610 is that of “Prince Mustafa.” It is in fact the seal of Bayezid II, which confirms the MS's 15th-century date and suggests that it may have originated in Mehmed's library: see *supra*, note 12. Marc. gr. 516 (Ptolemy's *Geographia* and Hero's *Pneumatica*) contains frontispiece portraits of Mehmed's first wife, the Zulkadiroğlu Sitt Hatun, and her brother Malik Arslan. It may have been presented to Mehmed as part of his marriage gift, although how it subsequently came to be acquired by Cardinal Bessarion is unknown, unless it reached him via Amiroutzes or possibly George Trapezountios: A. Mercati, “Le due lettere di Giorgio da Trebisonda a Mamometto II,” *OCF*, 9 (1943), 83 note 3; Deissmann, 32 note 3; F. Babinger, “Mehmed's II. Heirat mit Sitt-Chatun,” *Der Islam*, 29 (1949), 218–35.

⁴⁷ Pertusi (1977), 187–90. For the Bruni translation, E. Jacobs, “Büchergeschenke für Sultan Mehmed II,” *Festschrift für Georg Leyh* (Leipzig, 1937), 24–26.

⁴⁸ Patrinelis (1971) relies on George's 1453 treatise. George's important letter of 1466 to Paul II has since been published by J. Monfasani, *George of Trebizond, a biography and a study of his rhetoric and logic*, Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition, I (Leyden, 1976), 186 note 34, 357. For George's failure to see Mehmed and his acknowledgement of Amiroutzes' help, see his second letter to the Sultan, 1466: Mercati, “Due lettere,” 93, 99.

⁴⁹ E.g., the contest between Hocazade and Alaeddin Tusi (Alā' al-Dīn Ṭūsī) on the relative merits of theology and philosophy, which took the form of a critique of al-Ghazali's *Tahāfut al-falāsifa*: (Mustafā) Ālī, *Kunh al-Ahbār*, V (Istanbul, 1284/1867), 233; Taşköprüzade, *Eṣ-ṣaḡā'iq en-no'māniyye von Tāşköprüzade*, trans. O. Rescher (Istanbul, 1927), 479; Babinger, 479.

a vital role in fostering the Sultan's interest in Greek culture. On theological matters he had, admittedly, to look outside the court, to the Patriarchate; but it should be noted that it was Mehmed who established the Patriarchate after the fall, and that this momentous decision—which ensured a focus for the survival of the Greek identity—was taken on the advice of the Sultan's Greek "secretaries." For aspects of secular learning he could draw on the talents of his numerous "Western" courtiers, Kritoboulos and the Amiroutzes clan included, to provide him with verbal, if not written, translations.

About the time of the siege of Byzantium there were the two medical men mentioned by Sagundino, "one of whom was learned in Latin, the other learned in Greek," who tutored the Sultan in ancient history. The Latin-educated *medicus* was almost certainly the Jewish physician Jacopo da Gaeta, who is first recorded in the Sultan's service in 1452 and who remained with him throughout his life. It was for Jacopo that Latin commentaries on Avicenna were ordered from Ragusa in 1465 by the Grand Vizier Mahmud Paşa. His *graece eruditus* counterpart has not yet been identified; and the long-standing belief that Cyriacus of Ancona was one of these two ancient history tutors is based on a manuscript misreading, where the lector is in fact referred to anonymously as "a companion of Cyriacus of Ancona."⁵⁰

One influential Greek at Mehmed's court at this time was Demetrios Apokaukos Kyritzes, described in Greek sources as an *archōn* and in Filelfo's letter to the Sultan (15 March 1454) as "your secretary," ὁ σὸς γραμματεὺς. Kyritzes' secretarial and diplomatic role is borne out by the missions he undertook in 1446 and 1447 to Venice on behalf of Mehmed and his father Murad II. Despite, or perhaps because of, his connections with the Ottoman court, he played an important role in the Greek community, particularly in relations with the Patriarchate. Following the sack of Constantinople he bought the freedom of Dionysios of Philippopolis, the future Patriarch.⁵¹ Another Edirne Greek,

Nicholas Isidoros, ransomed several prisoners, and, although he is termed the "Judge and Grand Emin" of the Sultan (τῷ κριτῇ καὶ μεγάλῳ ἐμμίνῃ τοῦ μεγάλου αὐθεντός), he is recorded in 1453 surrounded by a number of Byzantine ecclesiastics.⁵²

The cases of Kyritzes and Isidoros indicate how association with the Ottoman court did not entail compromising either the Greek faith or the Greek community. Mehmed's Greek secretaries are described in the sixteenth-century Greek historical tradition as being close to the Sultan and entrusted with the running of the "entire empire"—a description perhaps not entirely free from bias.⁵³

In the early 1460s one of the Greek secretaries of the Porte was Thomas Katabolenos, who negotiated the surrender of Trebizond and was subsequently despatched on a mission to Vlad Dracul, only to end as another of Vlad's impaled victims. Katabolenos enjoyed sufficient prestige at court for Chalkokondylas to describe him as εὐδόκιμον τῶν θυγῶν;⁵⁴ and Konstantin Mihailović, the so-called Polish Janissary, refers to Thomas Katabolenos as Thomas Kirzicze, "a Greek Christian of whom he (the Sultan) was fond," Mehmed apparently attempting to convert him to Islam.⁵⁵ Katabolenos is known in Ottoman sources as Yunus Bey, which might suggest that he apostatized; but this is unlikely because his brother organized a memorial

vertrag (1446)," *OCP*, 15 (1949), 225–58; G. M. Thomas, *Diplomatariū veneto-levantinum 1300–1454*, II (Venice, 1899), 370–72. E. Trapp, R. Walther, and H. V. Beyer, *Prosopographisches Lexicon der Palaiologenzeit* (Vienna, 1976 seq.), I, no. 1184. On the importance of the "secretary" at the Ottoman court at this period, L. Chalkokondylas, Bonn ed. (1843), 438, lines 17 f.; *Laonici Chalcocondylae Historiarum demonstrationes*, ed. E. Darkó (Budapest, 1927), II, 198, line 20 f.; Patrinelis (1966), 74.

⁵²J. Darrouzès, "Lettres de 1453," *REB*, 22 (1964), 101, 104, 122–23; Pertusi (1976), II, 150–51. Quite what is meant by *kritēs* in this context is difficult to say.

⁵³*Historia politica*, Bonn ed., 26: ἡρώτησε τὸ αἴτιον παρὰ φίλων καὶ γραμματικῶν Χριστιανῶν, οὓς εἶχε πλησίον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐδιοίκουν πᾶσαν τὴν βασιλείαν (my underlining). The *Ecthesis chronica*, 18–19, an apparently earlier redaction of this chronicle, is less explicit.

⁵⁴Patrinelis (1966), 73; Kritoboulos, bks. III, 20, and IV, 7: (1870), 133, 141; (1954), 152, 173–76; (1963), 261, 289; L. Chalkokondylas, *De origine ac rebus gestis Turcorum*, Bonn ed. (1843), 501–2; *Historiarum demonstrationes*, ed. Darkó, II 251–52; Trapp et al., *Lexicon*, III, no. 5577.

⁵⁵B. Stolz and Sv. Soucek, *Konstantin Mihailović, Memoirs of a Janissary*, Michigan Slavic Translations (Ann Arbor, 1975), 147. Thomas Kirzicze may represent a conflation of Dimitrios Kyritzis and Thomas Katabolenos, but P. Wittek, "Der Beiname des osmanischen Sultans Mehmed II.," *Eretz-Israel*, 7 (1963), 144–53, has shown, first, that Kyritzis corresponds to the Ottoman title Çelebi and, second, that at least at the end of the 15th century Secretaries of the Porte were entitled Çelebi. As a Greek Secretary of the Sultan, Thomas may therefore have been known as Kyritzis/Çelebi. I owe the Wittek reference to Professor Ménage.

⁵⁰J. Raby, "Cyriacus of Ancona and the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II," *JWarb*, 43 (1980), 242–46. For the book orders from Ragusa, J. von Karabacek, *Abendländische Künstler zu Konstantinopel im XV. und XVI. Jahrhundert*, I, Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien Denkschriften, 62. Band, 1. Abh. (Vienna, 1918), 16–21.

⁵¹Raby, *op. cit.*; Patrinelis (1966), 71–73, 75–78; *idem*, Κυριακὸς ὁ Ἀγκωνίτης, ἡ δὴθεν ὑπηρεσία του εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν τοῦ σουλτάνου Μωάμεθ τοῦ Πορθητοῦ καὶ ὁ χρόνος τοῦ θανάτου του, 'Επ. 'Ετ.Βυζ.Σπ., 36 (1968), 160; *Ecthesis chronica*, 30, 47; *Historia politica*, Bonn ed., 41, 60; *Historia patriarchica*, Bonn ed., 108; F. Babinger and D. Dölger, "Mehmed's II. frühester Staats-

service for him at the Patriarchate, to which the entire Greek ecclesiastical community was invited.⁵⁶

Other known Greeks at Mehmed's court included Demetrios Sophianos, a Euboean renegade with a noted interest in magic and the occult sciences, whom the Knights of Rhodes executed for spying.⁵⁷ To these Greek diplomatic functionaries must now be added John Dokeianos, and of course those two scions of the House of Palaiologos who converted to Islam and reached the Vizierate: Hass Murad Paşa and Mesih Paşa; and there were numerous other members, male and female, of both the Palaeologan and Comnene imperial families attached to Mehmed's court.⁵⁸ Among the most influential Christians was Mehmed's stepmother, Mara Branković, daughter of George the Despot of Serbia, whom Mehmed treated with respect and generosity and who acted on many occasions as intermediary in negotiations with the Venetians.⁵⁹

It is evident that Mehmed had a large number of bilingual or polyglot courtiers. To what extent, therefore, the manuscripts of his Greek scriptorium were designed for his personal handling is

unclear; even when the contents were intended for the Sultan the manuscripts could have been handled by his confidants. This may explain why the Greek manuscripts were modest book-productions compared to many of Mehmed's Islamic manuscripts.

The majority of the manuscripts of Mehmed's Greek scriptorium cannot be linked specifically with the Sultan. Indeed, their contents suggest that they were intended for a different audience. As a corpus they represent a typical Late Byzantine school curriculum, minus the tragedians, with grammars and lexica emphasizing linguistic training.⁶⁰ If these linguistic manuals were prepared for Mehmed's benefit, and one at least—the Eudemos Rhetor *GI* 26—was copied as late as 1480, we must posit that Mehmed's exposure to Greek grammar, which began in childhood, continued throughout his life.

Alternatively, the manuscripts could have served for the training of chancellery staff entrusted with the Greek correspondence. This would explain their linguistic bias and the connections with Mehmed's chancellery, evident, firstly, in the use of *siyāqat* documents for the pasteboarding of *GI* 26 (documents themselves associated with the training of a chancellery scribe) and, secondly, in the fact that the same Greek scribe appears to have been responsible for the copying of Vat. gr. 613 and the Greek *firman* of 10 July 1480 from Sultan Mehmed to Doge Mocenigo of Venice (figs. 40–42).

The Greek manuscripts were not, that is, for the benefit of Greek secretaries like Kyritzes or Katabolenos, but for a younger generation, many of them slave recruits raised in the Saray, some of whom may not even have been Greek in origin. The need to create an indigenous, Saray-trained chancellery staff developed with the empire's expansion. The conquest of Constantinople had on the one hand expanded the empire's political and mercantile horizons; on the other, it had disrupted, if not destroyed, the Constantinopolitan educational organization, at a time when correspondence with Italian states such as Venice, Florence, and Milan continued to be conducted in Greek.⁶¹ The collapse of the private educational

⁵⁶ Neşri, *Mehmed Neşri: Kitâb-i Cihan-nümâ, Neşri tarihi*, ed. F. R. Unat and M. A. Köymen, II (Ankara, 1957), 757; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Marsh 313 ("The Oxford Anonymous Chronicle"), fol. 142^v, line 11; Babinger, 173. For the memorial service, Patrinelis (1966), 74, esp. note 366, 120–21 lines 1070–76.

⁵⁷ D. Malipiero, *Annali Veneti dall'anno 1457 al 1500* . . . , ASIIt, 7, pts. 1 and 2 (1843–44), 123–27; E. Brockman, *The two sieges of Rhodes, 1480–1522* (London, 1969), 62; Babinger, 381, 396–97.

⁵⁸ In general, N. Beldiceanu and I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "Un Paléologue inconnu de la région de Serrès," *Byzantion*, 61 (1971), esp. 13–15. On the brothers Hass Murad Paşa and Mesih Paşa, see F. Babinger, "Eine Verfügung des Paläologen Châşş Murâd-Paşa von Mitte Regeb 876h (Januar 1472)," *Documenta islamica inedita, Festschrift für Richard Hartmann zum 70. Geburtstag am 8. Juni 1951*, ed. J. Fück (Berlin, 1952), 197–210; A. T. Papadopoulos, *Versuch einer Genealogie der Paläologen 1259–1453* (Munich, 1938), 68. A Theodore Palaeologus is mentioned in several Venetian documents of the period as having been a *subassi* of Sultan Mehmed: M. Koliva, Θεόδωρος Παλαιολόγος, ἀρχηγὸς μισθοφόρων «στρατιωτῶν» καὶ διερχομένης στὴν ὑπηρεσία τῆς Βενετίας (1452–ca. 1532), *Θησαυρίσματα*, 10 (1973), 138–62. Archivio di Stato, Venice, *Senato Terra*, Registro 8 (1478–1483), fol. 36^v: 18 Jan. 1478 m. v.: "Theodoro Palaeologo, el qual era subassi del Signor Turcho, homo molto grato al dicto Signor. E per esser bon Christian e fugito et se offervisse servir fedelmente la nostra Signoria . . ."; cf. ASV, *Magistrato del Sal—Provveditor al Sal*, Registro 9, fol. 140^v.

⁵⁹ F. Babinger, "Ein Freibrief Mehmed's II., des Eroberers, für des Kloster Hagia Sophia zu Saloniki, Eigentum der Sultanin Mara," *BZ*, 44 (1951), 11–20; *idem.*, "Witwensitze und Sterbeplatz der Sultanin Mara," *Επ. Έτ.Βυζ.Σπ.* [Κανόνιον Φ.Ι. Κουκουλέ], 23 (1953), 240–45; D. M. Nicol, *The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos (Cantacuzenus) ca. 1100–1460. A Genealogical and Prosopographical Study*, DOS, XI (Washington, D. C., 1968), 211 f.; I. A. Papadrianos, "The marriage arrangement between Constantine XI Palaeologus and the Serbian Mara (1451)," *Balkan Studies*, 6 (1965), 131–38.

⁶⁰ I owe this information to Mr. Nigel Wilson.

⁶¹ F. Babinger, *Johannes Darius (1414–94), Sachwalter Venedigs im Morgenland, und sein griechischer Umkreis*, SBMün, Philos.-hist. Kl., 5. Heft (1961), 5–6; Sp. Lambros, 'Η Ἑλληνική ὡς ἐπίσημος γλῶσσα τῶν Σουλτάνων, *Νέος Ἑλλ.*, 5 (1908), 40–70, 116–17. Greek continued to be used in Bayezid's reign: *idem.*, Ἑλληνικά δημόσια γράμματα τοῦ σουλτάνου Βαγιαζίτ Β', *Νέος Ἑλλ.*, 5 (1908), 155–89; see also the demand from Florence for a copy of the capitulations to be transcribed "nell'una lingua et altra, o almeno in lingua greca": J. Müller, *Documenti sulle relazioni delle città toscane coll'Oriente cristiano e coi Turchi fino all'anno 1531* (Florence, 1879), 243.

establishments and the destruction of the imperial bureaucracy concentrated the onus of Greek education on the theologians of the Patriarchal Academy.⁶² The option the Sultan faced was to educate his own Greek chancellery staff.

Two considerations suggest that the Saray may have become increasingly self-reliant with regard to the training of its Greek secretaries and scribes. First, the majority of Greek documents issued under Mehmed II and Bayezid II are in a vulgar Greek, full of linguistic and diplomatic inaccuracies. Errors in grammar, syntax, and orthography have led both Laurent and Ahrweiler to suggest that the documents could not have been drafted by a native Greek speaker and must instead have been the work of a Latin or a Turk.⁶³

Second, the identity of Mehmed's Greek secretariat becomes increasingly anonymous as his reign proceeds. Kyritzes and Katabolenos were personalities known to the Byzantine chroniclers, but their successors are passed over in silence. This silence suggests that the later generation of "Greek secretaries" no longer played an active role in the Greek community and that the advisory and mediating capacity of their seniors became restricted to a merely bureaucratic function. If some of these later

"Greek secretaries" were in fact Turkish or Latin-born recruits to the Saray, their diminishing role becomes understandable, since they could no longer enjoy the confidence of the Greek community.

The name of only one of these later Greek scribes is preserved, and that only in a Latin translation of the original Greek letters sent to the Master of the Knights of St. John in Rhodes in 1480. The scribe records himself as "Harimonius Atheniensis Omnimorat nominatus invicti maximi Domini Secretarius," or alternatively as "Harimonius Atheniensis, qui modo Murad Khim (sic) Turce dicitur Secretarius." "Harimonius" or, more correctly, Harmonios the Athenian is a figure who would repay further investigation. He was the nephew of the celebrated humanist Theodore Gazes and, to judge from his library, was himself a man of considerable learning. At least eleven MSS are inscribed with Harmonios' *ex libris*, two of them as gifts from Theodore Gazes, one from Gennadios Scholarios. They reveal interests in rhetoric and Aristotelian studies. In two of the MSS (Laur. 81, 19; Ambros. 403) Harmonios adds that he is "now called Murad Rim" (τοῦ νῦν λεγομένου μουραῶδ ῥίμ). How long his association with the Ottoman court may have lasted is uncertain, for at an unspecified date he was in Rome, where he copied and signed a manuscript of Aristotle's *Peri areton* (Riccard. 81). It remains, then, to be established, at what stage in his career he traveled to Italy.⁶⁴

⁶² M. Gedeon, Χρονικά τῆς Πατριαρχικῆς ἀκαδημίας. Ἱστορικαὶ εἰδήσεις περὶ τῆς μεγάλῃς τοῦ γένους σχολῆς 1454–1830 (Constantinople, 1883).

⁶³ V. Laurent, Σφραγιζῆς et non Φραγιζῆς, BZ, 44 (1951), 378; H. Ahrweiler, "Une lettre en grec du Sultan Bayezid II (1481–1512), *Turcica*, 1 (1969), 150–60; cf. A. Bombaci, "Nuovi firmani greci di Maometto II," BZ, 47 (1954), 299. F. Babinger, "Zwei diplomatische Zwischenspiele im deutsch-osmanischen Staatsverkehr unter Bajezid II. (1497 und 1504)," *Westöstliche Abhandlungen. Rudolf Tschudi zum siebzigsten Geburtstag überreicht von Freunden und Schülern* (Wiesbaden, 1954), 315–30, assumes however that Bayezid continued to use Greeks as envoys to the West. Cf. Dölger's criticisms of the *firman* of 1446: F. Babinger and D. Dölger, "Mehmed's II. frühester Staatsvertrag (1446)," OCP, 15 (1949), 225–58. Of the seven *firmans* preserved in Venice (all, Documenti Turchi B. 18 bis, fasc. 14) from the close of Mehmed's reign, only two—the one dated 10 July 1480 (figs. 40–41) and another undated but probably of 30 April 1481—can have been the work of native Greek scribes. The others—25 and 29 January 1479, 23 September 1479, 7 October 1479, and 7 January 1480—are inferior in orthography and calligraphy. (The scribe of the *firman* of 7 January 1480 wrote an undated *firman* on behalf of Sultan Bayezid, possibly to be dated 12 January 1482.) F. von Miklosich and J. Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, III (Vienna, 1865), 293–99, 302–9, 312–13; Bombaci, "Nuovi firmani," 300–5; *idem*, "Il 'Liber Graecus', un cartolario veneziano comprendente inediti documenti ottomani in greco (1481–1504)," *Tschudi Festschrift*, 294, 300–2. It has also been suggested by E. Legrand, *Description des Îles de l'Archipel par Christophe Buondelmonti (Version grecque par un anonyme publiée d'après le manuscrit du Sérail avec une traduction française et un commentaire)*, Publications de l'Ecole des Langues Orientales, ser. 4, vol. 14, I (Paris, 1897), pp. xix–xx, that the Saray Buondelmonti, GI 24, may not have been written by a native Greek but by a "barbare."

⁶⁴ For the 1480 letters, S. Paoli, *Codice diplomatico del sacro militare ordine gerosolimitano*, II (Lucca, 1737), 410, no. xix, 413–14, no. xxii. I owe these references to Professor Ménage. On Harmonios' activity as a scribe and collector of MSS, Vogel-Gardthausen, 45; Moraux, *Aristoteles* (*supra*, note 13), 362–63. His hand is not, however, identifiable in any of the Topkapı Greek MSS or the Greek *firmans* from Mehmed to Venice. For details of his manuscripts, A. M. Bandini, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae*, III (Florence, 1768) (reprint, ed. F. Kudlen, Leipzig, 1961), 609; A. Martini and D. Bassi, *Catalogus codicum graecorum bibliothecae Ambrosianae* (Milan, 1906), I, 481–82, cat. no. 403, II, 611–12, cat. no. 507; J. Iriarte, *Regiae bibliothecae Matritensis codices graeci* (Madrid, 1769), 179–82. In his will of 1477 Theodore bequeathed his library to his student Demetrios Chalkondylas, apart from two manuscripts which he left to his (Theodore's) cousin, Andronikos Kallistos. No mention is made of Harmonios, however: L. Dorez, "Un document sur la bibliothèque de Théodore Gaza," *Revue des Bibliothèques*, 3 (1893), 385–90. (On Andronikos, Pertusi [1976], II, 354 f.) In November 1451 Theodore wrote from Italy to his two brothers, Demetrios and George, who were in Constantinople; Harmonios' relationship to them is as yet unclear: L. Mohler, *Kardinal Bessarion als Theolog, Humanist und Staatsmann*, III. *Aus Bessarions Gelehrtenkreis* (Paderborn, 1942), 572 f. Studies of Mehmed II have tended to overlook the fact that Theodore Gazes dedicated his *Laudatio canis* to the Sultan: PG, 161 (1866), cols. 985–98. The date of its composition is uncertain. Stein's suggestion that it was composed in about 1447 when Theodore refused Cosimo de Medici's invitation to Florence on the grounds that he was planning to return to his homeland is

No other Greek secretaries of the Porte have yet been identified from the latter part of Mehmed's reign, and it seems reasonable to suggest that the Sultan grew ever more reliant on renegades and racial hybrids. The change in the Greek secretariat of the Porte reflects the growing isolationism and self-dependence of the Ottoman ruling establishments. Secretaries like Demetrios Apokaukos Kyritzes, or his predecessors, Michael Pylles under Murad II or Theologos Korax under Bayezid I, were Byzantines whose Greek ethnicity was not in question.⁶⁵ There were pressures to integrate, however, as Mehmed's attempts to convert Katabolenos indicate. This process of integration was in the end fully regulated by the creation of a slave military and bureaucratic *élite*, whose allegiance to the Sultan was not to be compromised by family, ethnic, or sectarian ties.

Thus, the two groups of manuscripts were the product of a single atelier but they served different functions and were the outcome of very different dictates. A few reflect Sultan Mehmed's liberal eclecticism and the cultural legacy of Byzantium. Their relevance did not survive the Sultan's reign, however. The others, by contrast, document the diplomatic and political bequest of Byzantium, whose consequence continued until well into the sixteenth century. Greek *firman*s were issued in number to European states until at least 1520, and there are isolated examples from later in the century.⁶⁶ There may therefore have been a continuing practical need for the lexicographical and linguistic Greek manuscripts long after Mehmed's and even Bayezid's reign, whereas the intellectual demand of the Ottoman court for Greek texts appears to have been a phenomenon restricted to Mehmed's entourage.

There is circumstantial evidence, however, for Mehmed's personal involvement in the production of both sets of Greek manuscripts because they fall

into two periods, the mid-1460s and the late-1470s, precisely the periods when Mehmed rested from campaign and devoted himself to cultural pursuits and patronage. This might indicate the Sultan's supervision of his bureaucracy.

There was thus a variety of factors, external and internal, political and cultural, that occasioned the production of Greek manuscripts in the Ottoman Saray. The Greek scriptorium was however only one manifestation of the "Mixed Court" created by Mehmed. The heterogeneity of Mehmed's palace creation was apparent even in the architecture, for according to Angiolello, once a member of Mehmed's court, Mehmed built in the gardens of the Saray three pavilions or *palazzi*, one in the Persian-Karaman style, another *alla turchesca*, and a third *alla greca*.⁶⁷ Mehmed's aesthetic and cultural eclecticism provides an insight into his political policy, because while there may have been practical advantage in the meritocratic advancement of non-Muslims and non-Turks this policy caused, like Alexander's toward the Persians, bitter resentment among the Sultan's Turkish followers.

The Sultan's directive was made clear from the start. After the fall of Constantinople he inducted talented captives into his court and one such recruit was Imperialis, the nephew of Giovanni Lomellino, the Podestà of Pera, who lamented the appropriation of his charge just "because the Sultan wants to have some Latins in his court." Imperialis' response was to convert; and his case was repeated by numerous others.⁶⁸ The success of Mehmed's open-minded treatment of the Greeks can be measured by his image in sixteenth-century Greek historiography. The despotic tyrant of the aulic sources gives way to the enlightened *tyrannos* of the sixteenth-century popular and patriarchal histories, where Mehmed is praised for his appreciation of Greek as well as Muslim talent: ἡγάπα δὲ καὶ τοὺς σοφοὺς, οὐ μόνον τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐξ ἡμῶν. A story cited in support relates how Mehmed organized a competition between a Persian and two Greek musicians aimed at testing the Byzantine system of musical notation.⁶⁹

The practical purpose of many of the manuscripts of Mehmed the Conqueror's Greek scripto-

disputed by Mohler: L. Stein, "Der Humanist Theodor Gaza als Philosoph. Nach handschriftlichen Quellen dargestellt," *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie*, 2 (1889), 440; L. Mohler, "Theodoros Gazes, seine bisher ungedruckten Schriften und Briefe," *BZ*, 62 (1943–49), 57, 64. He also wrote a tract *De origine Turcorum*: Mohler, *loc. cit.*

⁶⁵ Lambros, Γλωσσα (*supra*, note 61), 56–57, 186; M. (?) Doukas, *Decline and Fall of Byzantium to the Ottoman Turks*, trans. H. J. Magoulias (Detroit, 1975), 125–27, 132, 161–64; J. W. Barker, *Manuel Palaeologus, 1391–1425: A Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship*, Rutgers Byzantine Series (New Brunswick, N. J., 1969), 360 note 108, 363 note 111.

⁶⁶ Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca*, III (*supra*, note 63), cf. Bombaci, "Il 'Liber Graecus'" (*supra*, note 63), esp. 288–91.

⁶⁷ G. M. Angiolello, *Di Gio. Maria Angiolello e di un suo inedito manoscritto*, ed. A. Capparozzo (Nozze Lampertico-Balbi) (Vicenza, 1881), 24. The most detailed summary of Angiolello's biography and writings is by F. Babinger, "Angiolello, G. M.," *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (Rome, 1961), s.n.

⁶⁸ Pertusi (1976), I, 40, 50, 382 note 26.

⁶⁹ *Ecthesis chronica*, 38, lines 5–7; cf. *Historia politica*, Bonn ed., 50, lines 17–19.

rium should not blind us to his cultural catholicity. The year 1453 saw the devastation of much of the Byzantine heritage. Mehmed, however, salvaged relics of the New Jerusalem and the New Rome,

and in his patronage of Greek scholars and *literati* made his contribution to the continuance of the Greek tradition.

Oxford, 1982

CHECKLIST OF MANUSCRIPTS

It had been hoped to include a detailed codicological description of the manuscripts, to be undertaken as part of a conservation programme, but this has not proved possible. The following checklist of titles is appended, however, for the reader's convenience:

- GI 3 Kritoboulos, *The History of Mehmed the Conqueror*. N.d. Autograph. 220 × 148 (145 × 85) mm.
Bibl.: Uspenskii, 242; Ebersolt, 56, cat. no. 3; Deissmann, 43–44; Harlfinger
- GI 4 Antonios Monachos, *Bible Lexicon*, attributed to Cyril of Alexandria. Copy dated 15 September 1464. 292 × 221 (202 × 136) mm.
Bibl.: Uspenskii, 242; Ebersolt, 63, cat. no. 37; Deissmann, 45
- GI 6 Anon., *On the Antiquities of Constantinople and the Church of Hagia Sophia*. Dated 1474. Scribe: Michael Aichmalotes. 218 × 140 (150 × 85) mm.
Bibl.: Uspenskii, 242–43; Ebersolt, 57, cat. no. 6; Deissmann, 45–46
- GI 10 *Miscellany*: Planudes, *Life of Aesop and the Fables of Aesop*; *The Prophecies of Hippocrates Discovered in His Grave*; *The Art of the Lyre*. N.d. 262 × 160 (142 × 75) mm.
Bibl.: Uspenskii, 245–46; Deissmann, 57
- GI 12 Anon., *On Precious Stones and the Properties of Animals*. N.d. 215 × 142 (123 × 79) mm.
Bibl.: Uspenskii, 246; Deissmann, 58
- GI 15 Manuel Moschopoulos, *Grammar*. Dated 29 June 1463. Scribe: Manuel Lampadariou tou Chrysaphe.⁷⁰ 210 × 128 (156 × 72) mm.
Bibl.: Uspenskii, 246; Ebersolt, 59–60, cat. no. 15; Deissmann, 59
- GI 16 Arrian, *The Anabasis of Alexander the Great and the Indica*. N.d. Scribe: attr. Kritoboulos. 207 × 147 (147 × 90) mm.
Bibl.: Uspenskii, 246–47; Deissmann, 60; A. G. Roos, *Flavii Arriani quae exstant omnia*, I (Leipzig, 1907; repr. 1967), xiii, xxxv
- GI 17 Anon., *The Testament of Solomon*. N.d. 265 × 158 (155 × 78) mm.
Bibl.: Uspenskii, 247; Deissmann, 60–61
- GI 18 Anon., *Grammar. Declension & Conjugation of Verbs*. N.d. 215 × 144 (145 × 80) mm.
Bibl.: Uspenskii, 247; Deissmann, 61
- GI 25 Cristoforo Buondelmonti, *The Islands of the Archipelago* (Greek trans.). N.d. 230 × 155 (172 × 93) mm.
Bibl.: Uspenskii, 249; Ebersolt, 61–62, cat. no. 24; Deissmann, 67; Legrand (see *supra*, note 63)
- GI 26 Eudemos Rhetor, *Lexicon*. N.d. 343 × 285 (227 × 140) mm.
Bibl.: Uspenskii, 250; Deissmann, 68
- GI 31 Hesiod, *The Theogony, with Commentary*. N.d. Scribe: probably the copyist of GI 12. 238 × 170 (145 × 105) mm.
Bibl.: Deissmann, 70
- GI 32 Pindar, *Olympiaka*. N.d. 286 × 215 (195 × 98) mm.
Bibl.: Uspenskii, 250; Deissmann, 70
- GI 33 Oppian, *Halieutika, with scholia*. N.d. Scribe: cf. *Firman* of Mehmed II to Doge Mocenigo and *Vat. gr. 613*. 298 × 225 (180 × 115) mm.
Bibl.: Uspenskii, 250; Deissmann, 70
- Paris. gr. 2685 Homer, *The Iliad*. N.d. Scribe: Joannes Dokeianos. 345 × 235 (230 × 130) mm.
Bibl.: D'Ansse de Villoison (see *supra*, note 12), p. 18
- Vat. gr. 613 St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa contra Gentiles*, translation by Demetrios Kydones.⁷¹ N.d. 292 × 221 mm.
Bibl.: R. Devreesse, *Codices Vaticani Graeci*. III: *Codices 604–866* (Vatican City, 1950), 20–21; *idem*, *Le fonds grec de la bibliothèque Vaticane des origines à Paul V*, ST, 244 (Vatican City, 1965), 42–43

⁷⁰The same scribe was responsible for Iviron MS 5240.1120 dated July 1458. Vogel-Gardthausen, 282.

⁷¹Fols. 1–408^v are by a single hand; fols. 409–98 by another, responsible for the colophon on fol. 498 which gives the date of completion as 1496. The main body of the text is, however, earlier, because the MS is recorded in a Vatican register of 1475, and

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Babinger	F. Babinger, <i>Mehmed the Conqueror and his Time</i> , trans. R. Manheim, ed. W. Hickman, Bollingen Ser., XCVI (Princeton, N. J., 1978)
Briquet	C. M. Briquet, <i>Les filigranes</i> , 4 vols. (Paris, 1907; facsimile 1968)
Deissmann	A. Deissmann, <i>Forschungen und Funde im Serai</i> (Berlin-Leipzig, 1933)
Ebersolt	J. Ebersolt, <i>Mission archéologique de Constantinople 1920</i> (Paris, 1921)
<i>Ecthesis chronica</i>	<i>Ecthesis chronica</i> , ed. Sp. Lambros (London, 1902)
Ersoy	O. Ersoy, "Bursa'da Kâğıt Fabrikası Meselesi (XV-XVI yüzyıl)," <i>Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi</i> , 22 (1964), 101-15
Harlfinger	D. and J. Harlfinger, <i>Wasserzeichen aus griechischen Handschriften</i> , 2 vols. (Berlin, 1974 and 1980)
Jacobs	E. Jacobs, <i>Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Bibliothek im Serai zu Konstantinopel</i> , I, <i>SBHeidelb</i> , Phil.-hist. Kl., 24. Abh. (Heidelberg, 1919)
Kritoboulos (1870)	Critobulus, "De rebus gestis Mechemetis II inde ab anno 1451 usque ad annum 1467 p. Chr.," <i>FHG</i> , V, pt. 1, ed. C. Müller (Paris, 1870)
Kritoboulos (1954)	Kritoboulos of Imbros, <i>History of Mehmed the Conqueror</i> , trans. Charles T. Riggs (Princeton, 1954)
Kritoboulos (1963)	<i>Critobul din Imbros, Din Domnia lui Mahomed al II-lea, Anii 1451-1467</i> , ed. V. Grecu, <i>Scriptores Byzantini</i> , IV (Bucharest, 1963)
Omont	H. Omont, <i>Missions archéologiques françaises en Orient aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles</i> , 2 vols., Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France (Paris, 1902)
Patrinelis (1966)	Chr. Patrinelis, 'Ο Θεόδωρος Ἀγαλλιανός, ταυτιζόμενος πρὸς τὸν Θεοφάνην Μηδείας καὶ οἱ ἀνέκδοτοι λόγοι του (Thessaloniki, 1966)
Patrinelis (1971)	———, "Mehmed II the Conqueror and his presumed knowledge of Greek and Latin," <i>Viator, Medieval and Renaissance Studies</i> , 2 (1971), 349-54
Pertusi (1976)	A. Pertusi, <i>La caduta di Costantinopoli</i> . I: <i>Le testimonianze dei contemporanei</i> ; II: <i>L'eco nel mondo</i> (Verona, 1976)
Pertusi (1977)	———, "Le epistole storiche di Lauro Quirini sulla caduta di Costantinopoli e la potenza dei Turchi," <i>Lauro Quirini umanista. Studi e testi</i> , a cura di K. Krautter et al., ed. V. Branca, <i>Civiltà Veneziana, Saggi</i> , XXIII (Florence, 1977)
Piccard (1970)	G. Piccard, <i>Die Turm-Wasserzeichen</i> (Stuttgart, 1970)
Piccard (1980)	———, <i>Wasserzeichen Werkzeug und Waffen</i> (Stuttgart, 1980)
Ünver	S. Ünver, "XV. nci yüzyılda Türkiye'de kullianılan kâğıtlar ve su damgaları," <i>Belleten</i> , 26 (1962), 739-62
Uspenskii	F. I. Uspenskii, <i>Konstantinopolskii Seralskii kodeks Vosmiknizhiya, IRAIK</i> , XII (Sofia, Leipzig, Munich, 1907)
Vogel-Gardthausen	M. Vogel and V. Gardthausen, <i>Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance</i> (Leipzig, 1909)
Zonghi	<i>Zonghi's Watermarks, Monumenta chartae papyraceae historiam illustrantia</i> , III, ed. E. J. Labarre, The Paper Publications Society (Hilversum, Holland, 1953)

KEY TO TABLE OF WATERMARKS

The watermarks are datable by reference to four groups of dated material, marked A-D on the *Table*. From right to left these are:

- A. The three dated Greek manuscripts of our Topkapı Saray group, GI 15, GI 4, and GI 6.
- B. Greek manuscripts produced for the most part in Constantinople but otherwise independent of our group.

consistently thereafter until 1548. During the reign of Pope Paul III (1467-71) two collections of Greek MSS were acquired for the Vatican, one of thirty from the estate of Cardinal Isidorus of Kiev (d. 27 April 1463), the other of six MSS, purchased by Laudivius Zacchia in the Greek islands. Vat. gr. 613 was not among the Isidorus MSS, nor is it expressly recorded as one of Zacchia's acquisitions. On Zacchia, F. Babinger, *Laudivius Zacchia, Erdichter der "Epistolae Magni Turci"*, SBMün, Philos.-hist. Kl., Heft 13 (Munich 1960).

Included too is a Hebrew manuscript in the Topkapı Saray, GI 53, a commentary on Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed* which is dated the equivalent of A.D. 1480.

- C. Ottoman documents whose watermarks have been published by Ünver and Ersoy.
- D. European documents whose watermarks have been recorded by Briquet, Zonghi, Piccard, and others.

Accurate dating is possible only in the case of *identical* watermarks. Specimens identical to some of the watermarks in our undated Greek manuscripts occur in groups A and B, that is, in manuscripts known, or believed, to have been produced in Istanbul. In all likelihood, Ottoman documents (group C) would also provide identical examples, but few watermarks from Ottoman archives and manuscripts have so far been published, and those that have are reproduced in a form that inspires little confidence as to their accuracy, the authors neglecting, for example, to reproduce the laid lines. As none of the published specimens from European documents are *identical* to those in our Greek manuscripts, it should be clear that groups A and B provide more accurate dating than either C or D.

In order to differentiate between variants of a type such as *Ciseaux*, numerical and alphabetical sigla have been used, the numerical in every case being those used in Harlfinger's publications, the alphabetical being mine.

Publication references are cited below, using the following abbreviations:

- = the watermark is identical in form and size
- + the watermark is closely similar in form and size
- the watermark is similar in form

AIGLE

Paris. gr. 2685, fol. IV (pl. 21 A)

– Briquet, no. 202

Florence

1472

ARMOIRIES - LION

Paris. gr. 2685, fol. 236 (pl. 21 B)

– Ünver, no. 37. Maliye Arşivi

– Briquet, no. 1928

– Zonghi, no. 452

Palermo

872/1467–68

1466–69

Fabriano

1466

BALANCE A (*dans un cercle à plateaux rectangulaires*)

GI 10, fol. 5 (pl. 21 D)

– Briquet, no. 2451

"

"

Riembourg

1475

"var. simil."

1479

BALANCE B

GI 10, fol. 57 (pl. 21 E)

– Harlfinger, II, *Balance 9*

– Briquet, no. 2505

"

"

Bavaria

1475

1471 (?)

Venice

1480

CISEAUX 51

= Harlfinger, II: from

Monac. 215. Scribe: Michael Lygizos

1464

It is also to be found in:

Paris. gr. 1919. Scribe: George Tribizias?;

Vat. Pal. gr. 146. Scribe: Ioannes Eugenikos?;

Vat. Pal. gr. 224. Scribe: Michael Lygizos?;

Vat. Pal. gr. 360. Scribe: Michael Apostoles

CISEAUX 52

GI 4, GI 15: publ. Harlfinger, II

CISEAUX 53

GI 4: publ. Harlfinger, II

= GI 18

CISEAUX 54

GI 4: publ. Harlfinger, II
+ GI 32

It also occurs in:

Paris. suppl. gr. 652. Scribe: Matthew

Kamariotes?

– Zonghi, fig. 636

+ Ünver, no. 5. Maliye Arşivi

Constantinople?

Fabriano

n.d.

1464

n.d.

CISEAUX 61 and 62

= Harlfinger, I and II: from

Vat. Ott. gr. 395. Scribe: Thomas

Prodromites

Paris. gr. 1969

Constantinople

20 July 1466

March 1467

CISEAUX 63

GI 16: publ. Harlfinger, II

CISEAUX 65

GI 6: publ. Harlfinger, II

CISEAUX 69

GI 6: publ. Harlfinger, II

CISEAUX 73

GI 16: publ. Harlfinger, II

It also occurs in:

GI 20 Scribe: Matthew Kamariotes?

+ Ünver, no. 1: "Period of Mehmed
the Conqueror"

+ Briquet, no. 3689

+ " "

Constantinople?

n.d.

Naples

1463

"var. simil."

1465–67

CISEAUX 87

GI 16, publ. Harlfinger, II

– Ersoy, no. 47, from

Bursa, Shar'î a Şicilleri A.1

+ Briquet, no. 3754

+ " "

Palermo

"var. ident."

Sha'bân 867/

April 1463

1456

1457–67

CISEAUX S

GI 32, fol. 6 (pl. 21 J)

+ Harlfinger, I, from

Laur. 85.11. Scribe: Thomas Prodromites

Constantinople

8 Sept. 1464

CISEAUX T

GI 12, fol. 7 (pl. 21 L)

= GI 33

CISEAUX U

GI 17, pasteboarding (pl. 21 K)

CISEAUX V

GI 17, pasteboarding (pl. 21 M)

There is no laid line on the left of the
scissors on this sheet.

CISEAUX W and X

The Hebrew manuscript *GI 53* (*supra*, note 21)

is dated the equivalent of 1480. It uses

two variants of the *Ciseaux* watermark, both

"scissors" and "star".

CISEAUX W

GI 53, fol. 1 (pl. 21 N)

+ GI 26

– Piccard (1980), types iii, nos. 975–981

– Briquet, no. 3725

– " "

Genoa (mostly)

Genoa

"var. simil."

1478–83

1472

1475–79

CISEAUX X

GI 53, fols. 20 and 23 (pl. 21 O)

= GI 31

+ GI 24

CISEAUX Y

GI 10, fol. 7 (pl. 21 F)

– Harlfinger, I, *Ciseaux* 77

– Briquet, no. 3744

– " "

– Piccard (1980), type iii, no. 771 f.

Genoa

"var. simil."

1446

1448

1448–63

1448

CISEAUX Z

GI 10, fol. 63 (pl. 21 G)

– Briquet, no. 3674

Syracuse

1478

COUPE 1

GI 6: publ. Harlfinger, II

COURONNE 31

GI 15: publ. Harlfinger, II

+ GI 16

+ Paris. gr. 2685 (pl. 21 C)

CROISSANT

GI 10, fol. 47 (pl. 21 H)

+ GI 33

– Briquet, no. 5222

– " "

– Zonghi, fig. 800

Venice

"var. simil."

Fabriano

1483

1485

1485

ENCLUME 9

GI 16: publ. Harlfinger, II

– Ünver, no. 15: Maliye Arşivi,

Tapu Defterleri

870–72/1465–68

+ Briquet, no. 5958

+ " "

– Briquet, no. 5961

– " "

Gurck

"var. ident."

Udine

"var. simil."

1446

1452–63

1457

1455–72

HUCHET 21

GI 15: publ. Harlfinger, II

= GI 16

LETTRE 46

GI 3: publ. Harlfinger, II

– Ünver, no. 42. Başvekalet Arşivi.

Matbahi Âmire Defteri, No. 7270

+ Briquet, no. 8941

+ " "

Palermo

"var. simil."

1467

1470–72

MAIN OUVERTE

GI 10, fol. 26 (pl. 21 I)

– Ünver, no. 43

– Briquet, no. 10647

– " " "

Forez

1428

"var. ident."

1428

TOUR

GI 15, fol. 3 (pl. 21 P)

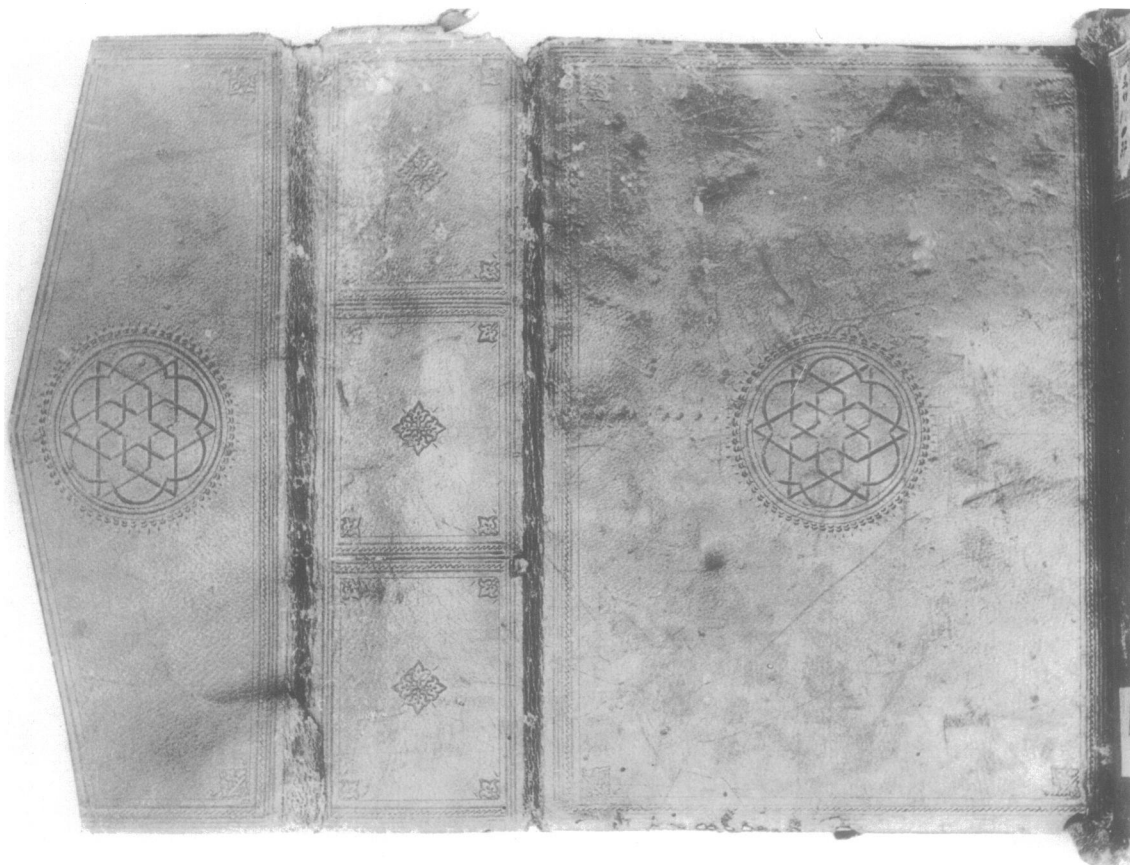
+ Piccard (1970), type ii, no. 612

Ravenna

1457–60

	D		C		B		A																	PARIS
	EUROPEAN DOCUMENTS	OTTOMAN DOCUMENTS	GREEK MSS	GI 15	GI 4	GI 6	GI 3	GI 10	GI 12	GI 16	GI 17	GI 18	GI 24	GI 26	GI 31	GI 32	GI 33	PARIS 26 85						
AIGLE	1472																		X					
ARMOIRIES- LION	1466-69	1467-68																	X					
BALANCE A	1475							X	X															
BALANCE B	1471 (?) 1480		1475					X	X															
CISEAUX 51			1464														X							
CISEAUX 52				1463	1464																			
CISEAUX 53					1464							X												
CISEAUX 54	1464				1464												X							
CISEAUX 61			1466 1467				X	X																
CISEAUX 62			1466 1467				X	X																
CISEAUX 63										X														
CISEAUX 65						1474																		
CISEAUX 69						1474																		
CISEAUX 73	1463 1465-67									X	X													
CISEAUX 87	1456-67	1463								X	X													
CISEAUX S			1464														X							
CISEAUX T									X									X						
CISEAUX U											X	X												
CISEAUX V											X	X												
CISEAUX W	1478-83		1480												X									
CISEAUX X			1480										X		X									
CISEAUX Y	1448-63		1446					X	X															
CISEAUX Z	1478							X	X															
COUPE 1						1474																		
COURONNE 31	1465-66			1463						X									X					
CROISSANT	1483-5							X										X						
ENCLUME 9	1446 1452-72	1465-68								X	X													
HUCHET 21				1463						X	X													
LETTRE 46	1467 1470-72						X	X																
MAIN OUVERTE	1428							X																
TOUR	1457-60			1463																				

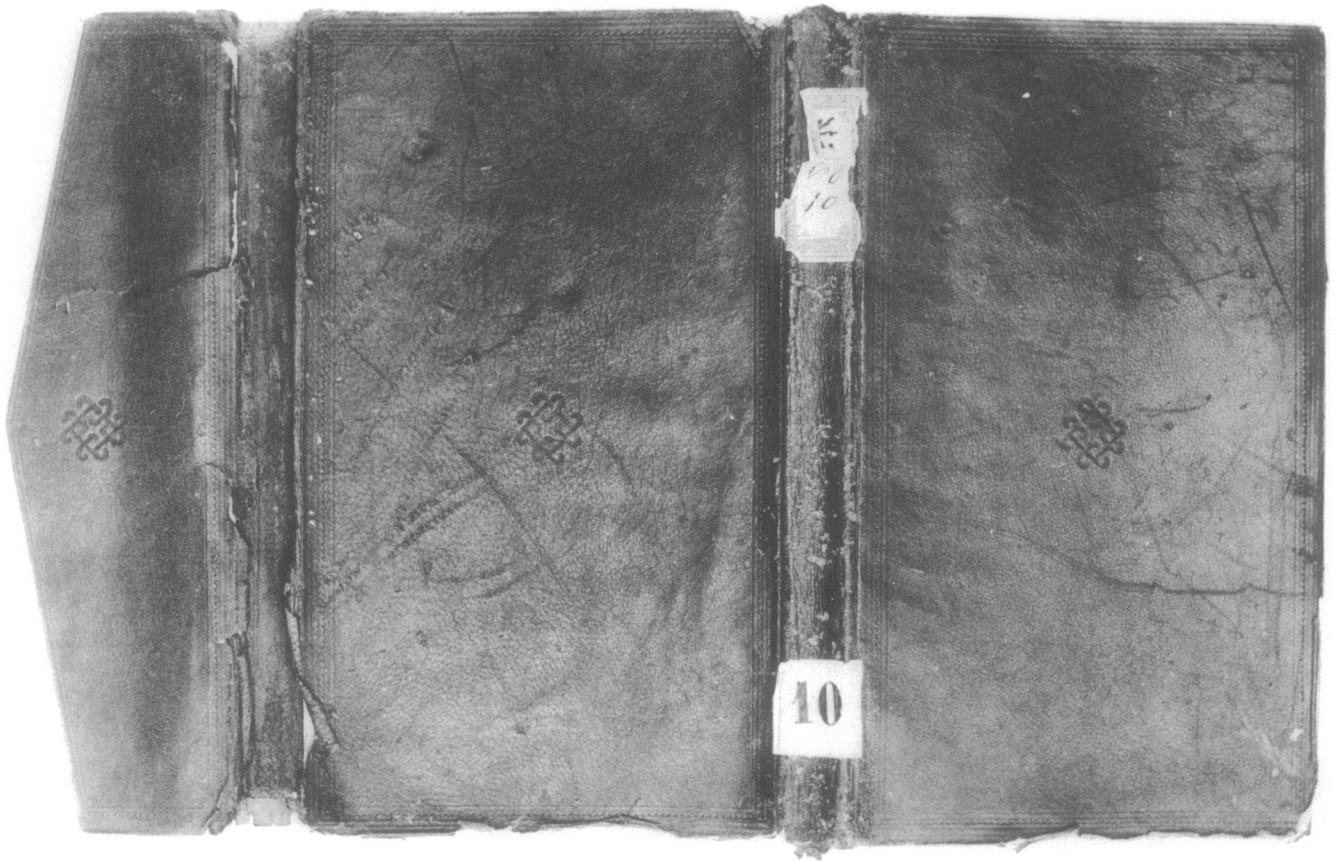
Table of Watermarks



1. *GI 4*. Lower Cover, Fore-edge Flap and Envelope Flap.
Dark Brown Goatskin, Blind Tooled



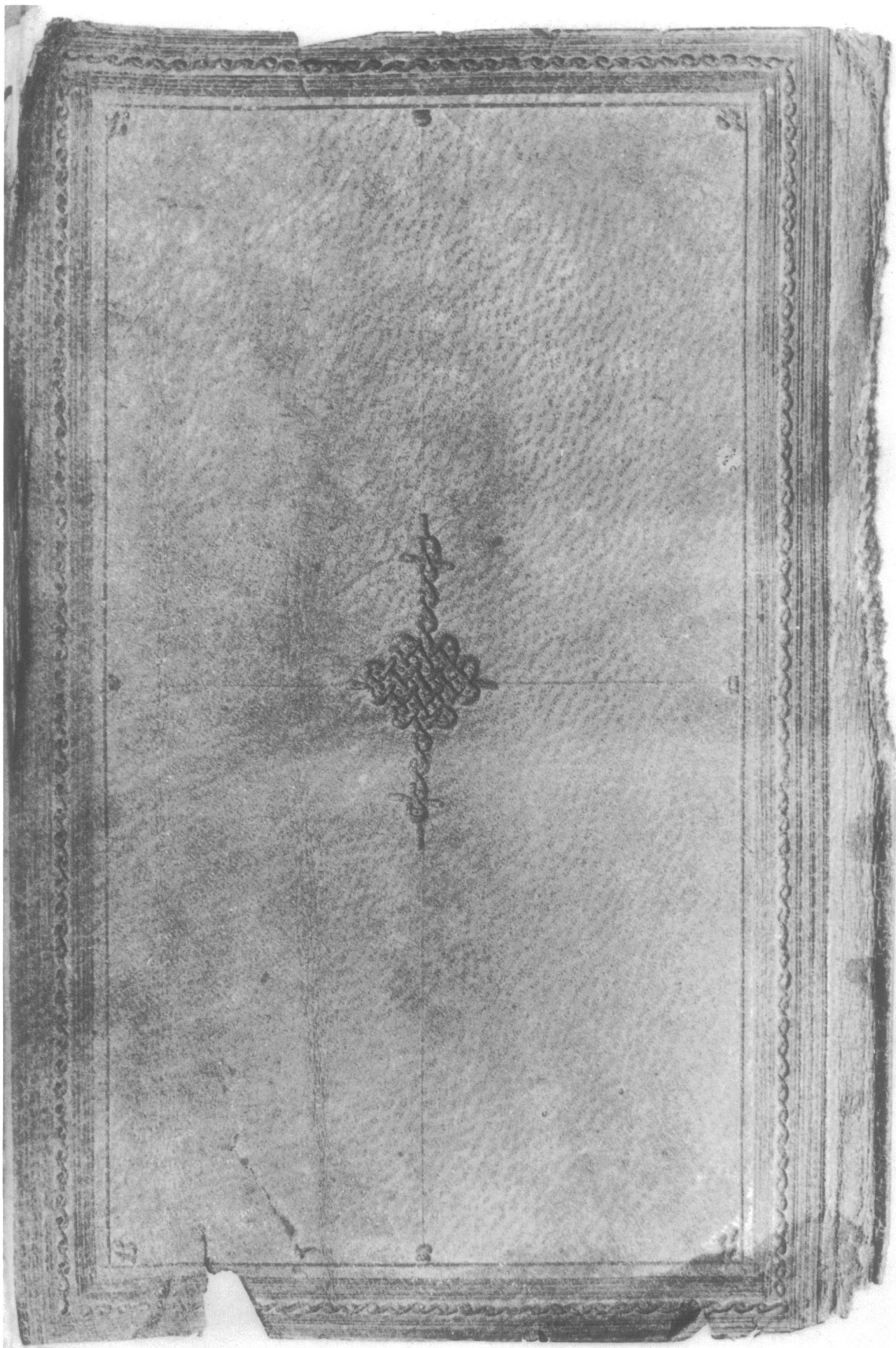
2. *GI 6*. Lower Cover, Fore-edge Flap and Envelope Flap.
Reddish Brown Goatskin, Blind Tooled



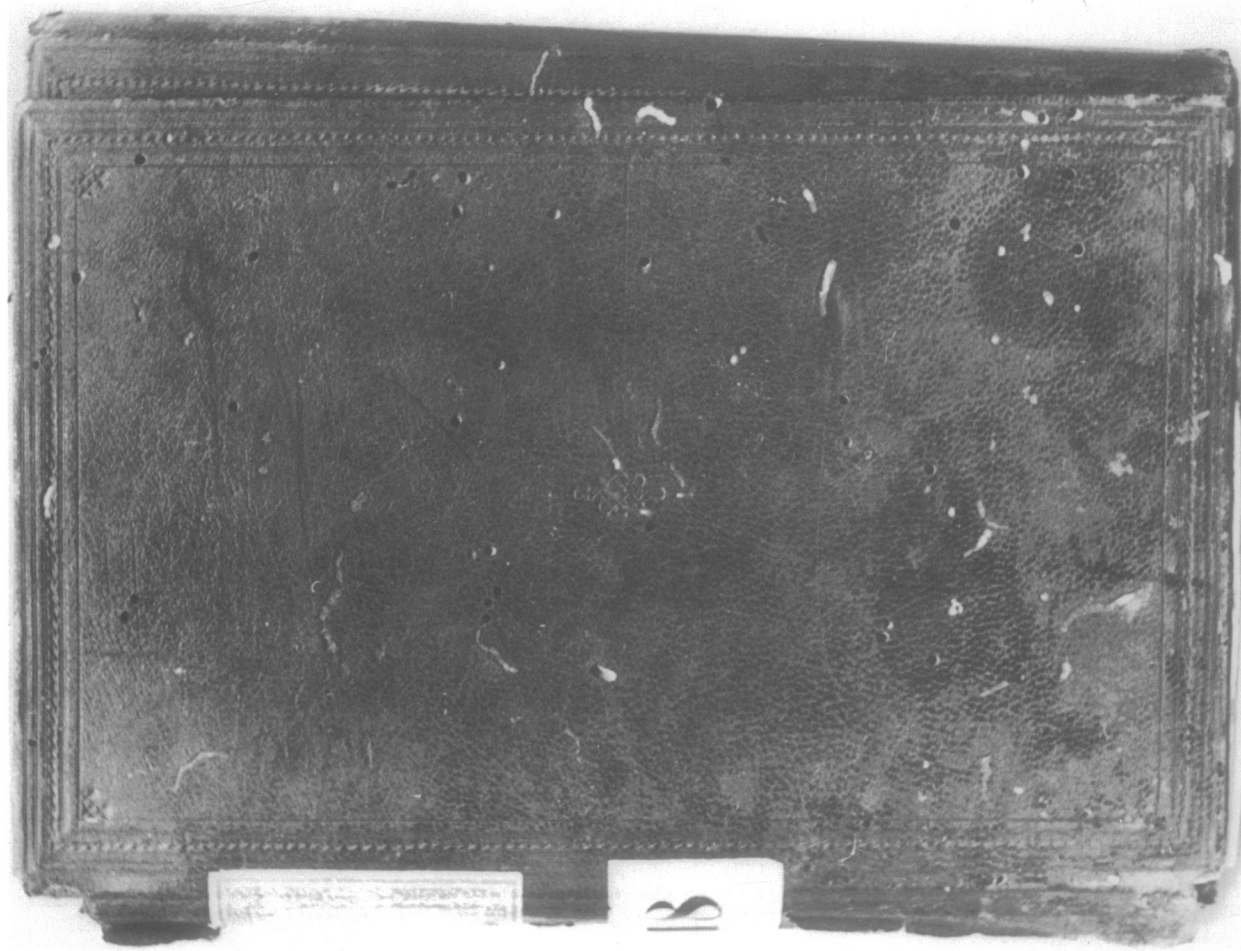
3. *GI 10*. Lower Cover, Fore-edge Flap, Envelope Flap, Spine, and Upper Cover.
Black Goatskin, Blind Tooled



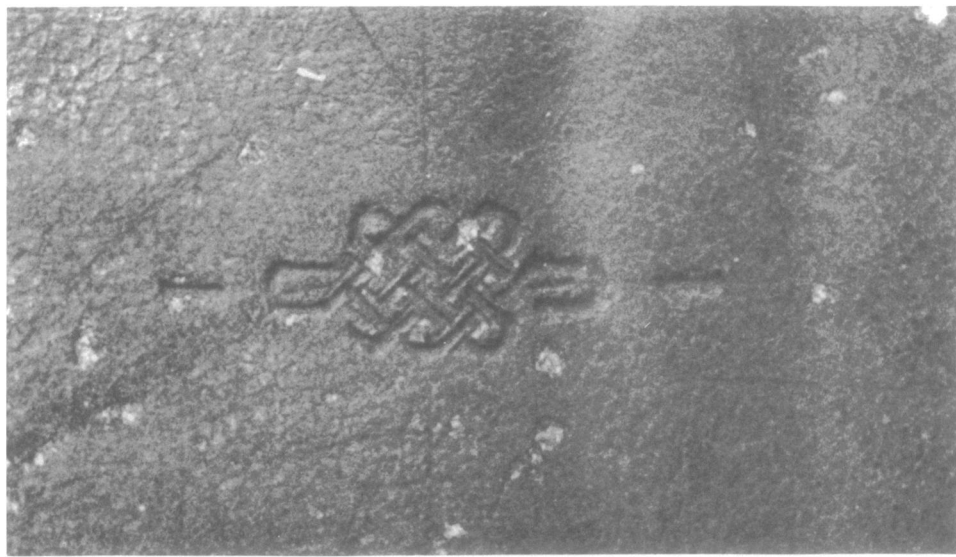
4. *GI 12*. Lower Cover, Fore-edge Flap, Envelope Flap, and Spine.
Black Goatskin, Blind Tooled



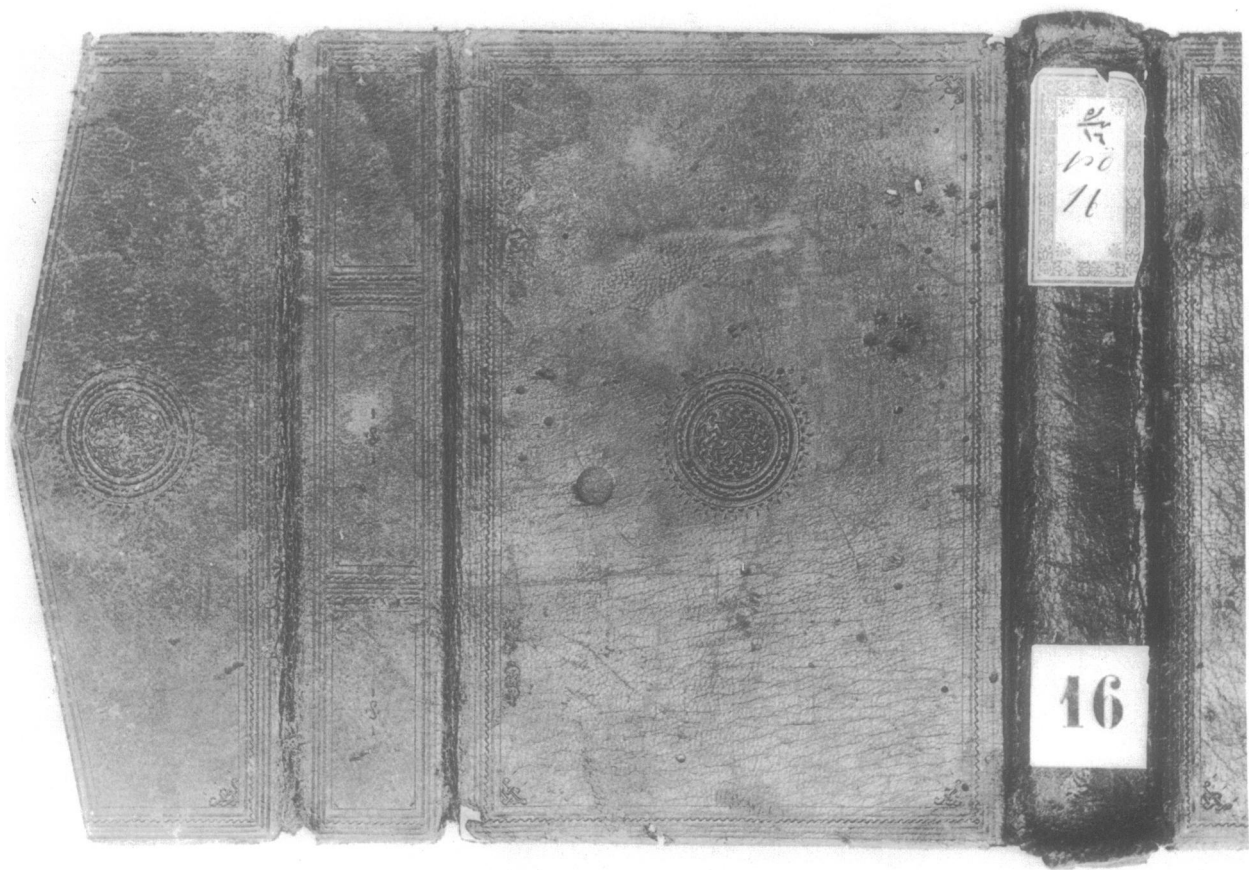
5. *GI 19. Miscellany. Upper Cover.*
Medium Brown Goatskin, Blind Tooled



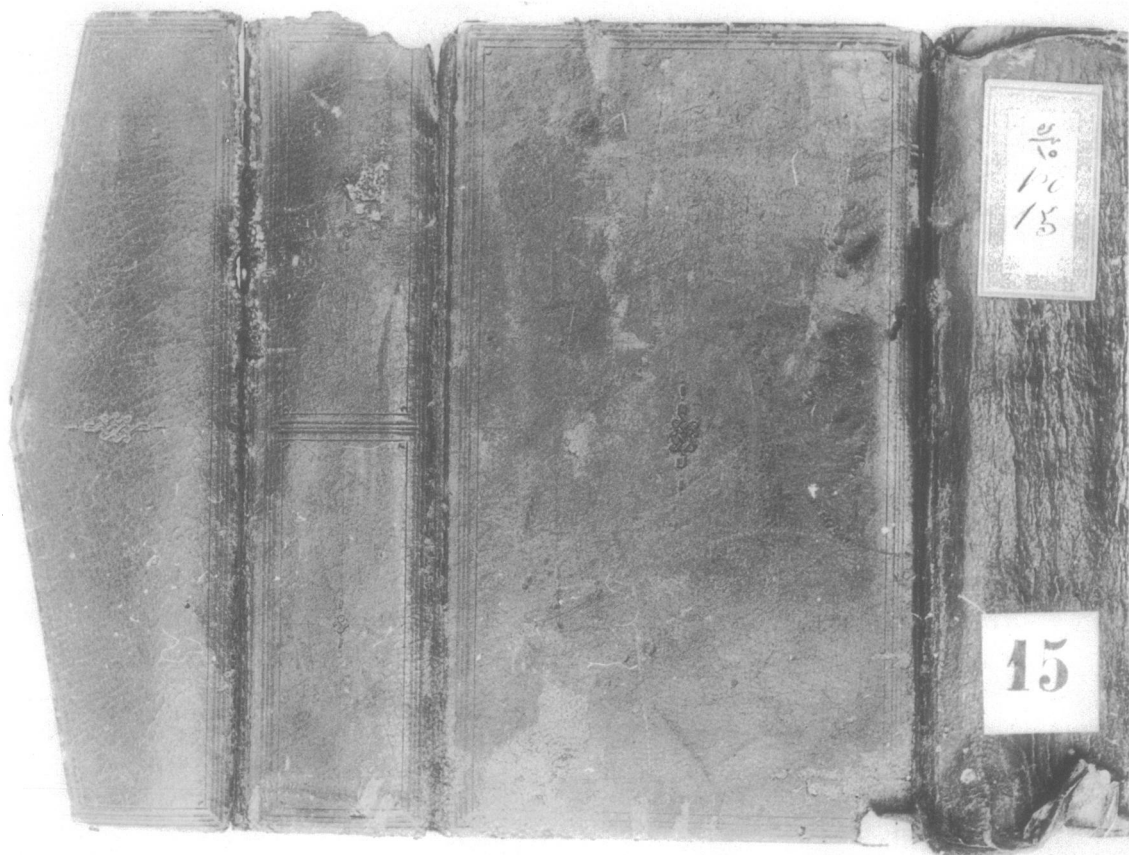
6A. *GI 18*. Upper Cover.
Black Goatskin



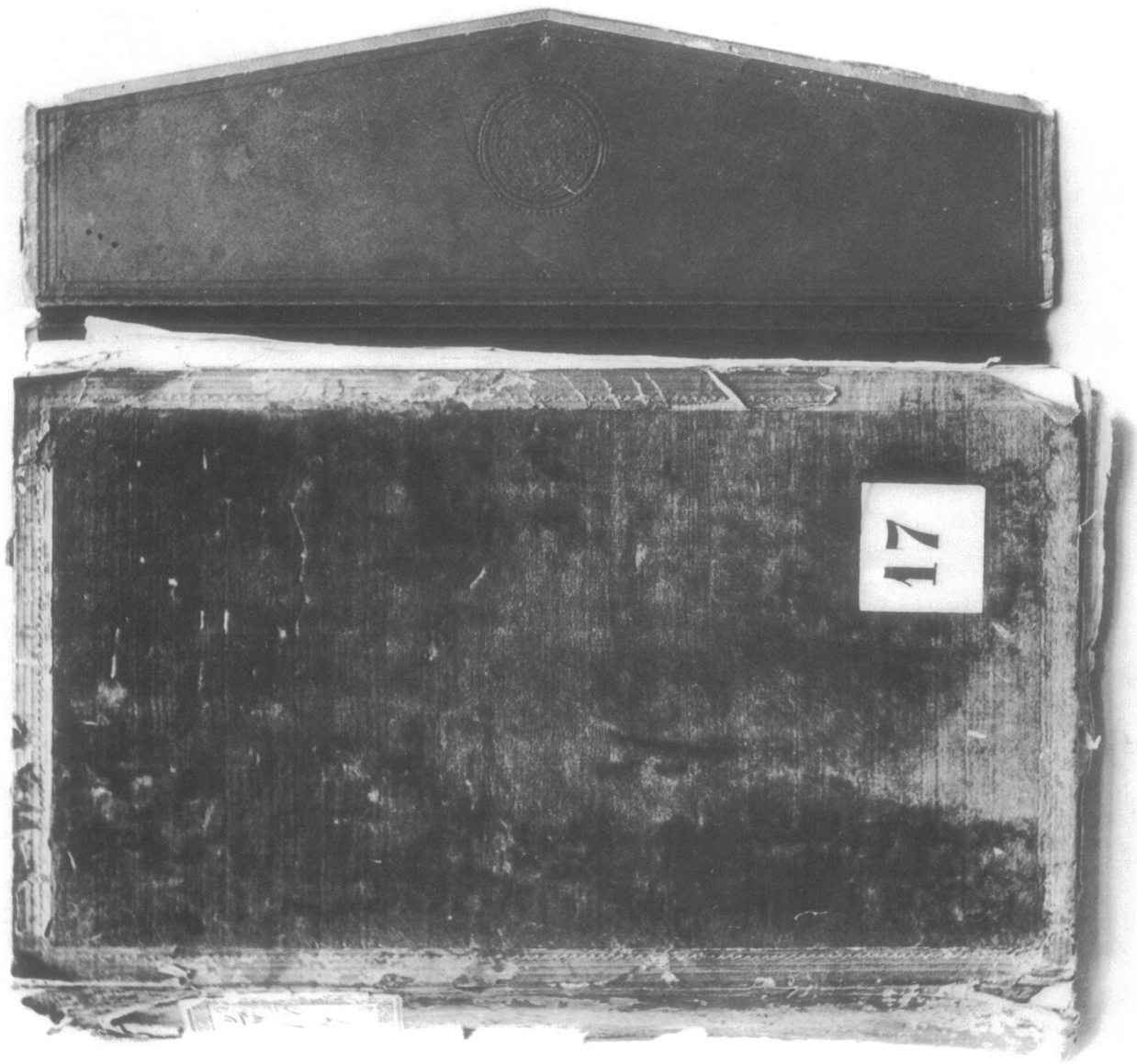
6B. *GI 18*. Upper Cover, detail,
Central Blind-tooled Medallion



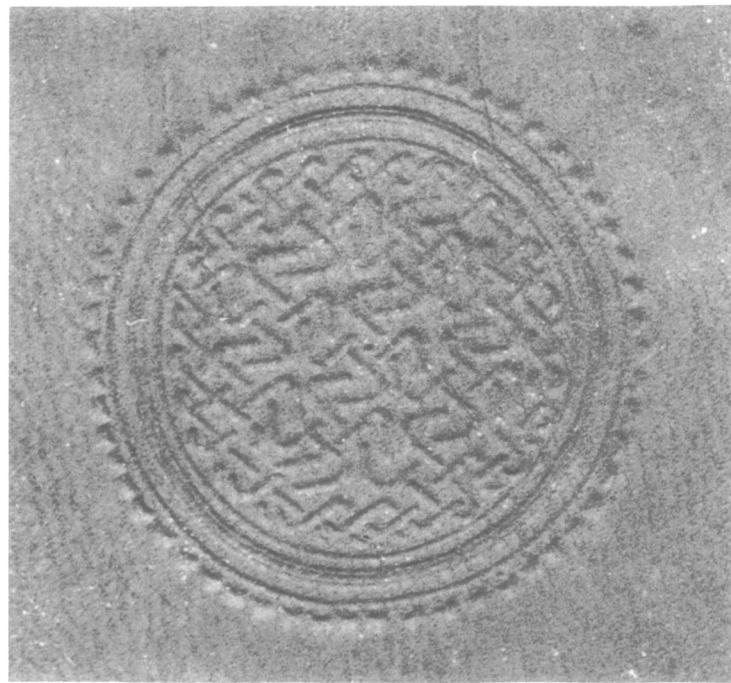
7. *GI 16*. Lower Cover, Fore-edge Flap, Envelope Flap, and Spine.
Dark Brown Goatskin, Blind Tooled



8. *GI 15*. Lower Cover, Fore-edge Flap, Envelope Flap, and Spine.
Dark Brown Goatskin, Blind Tooled



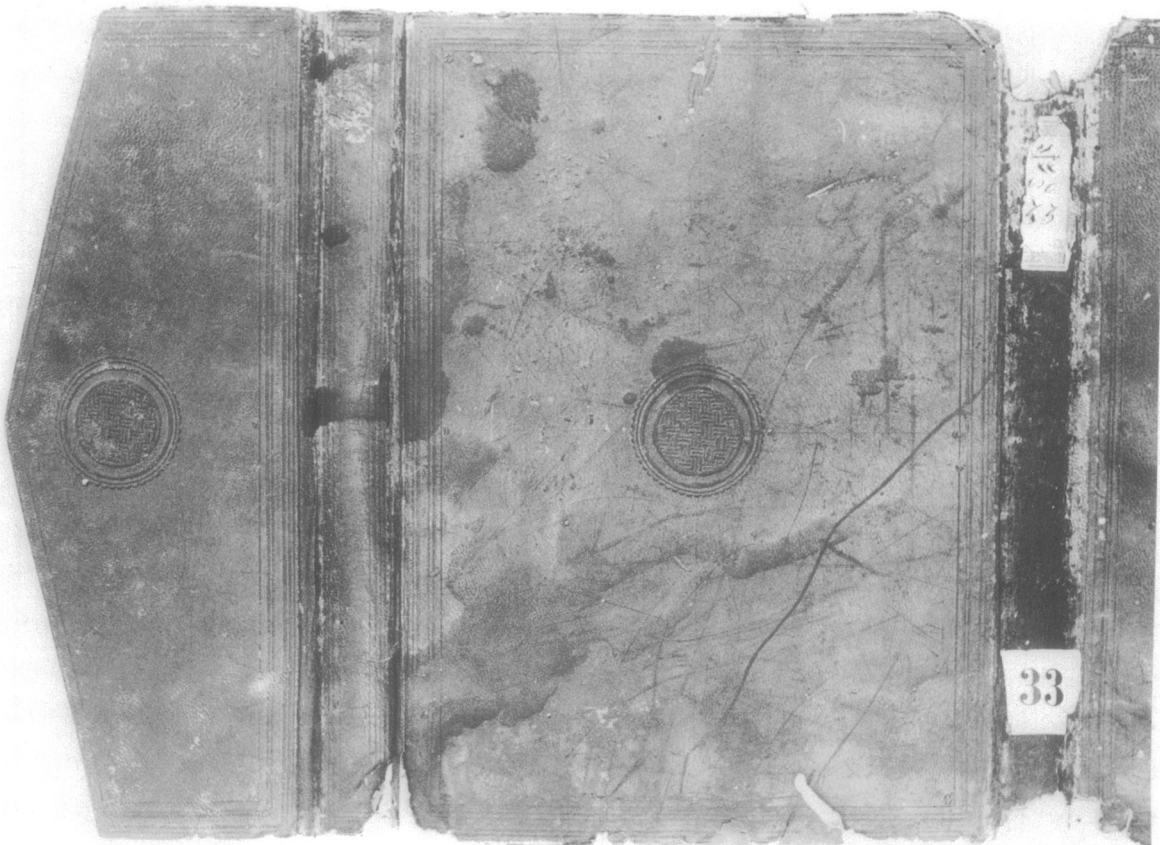
9. *Gl 17*. Lower Cover, Fore-edge Flap and Envelope Flap.
Crimson Plain Velvet with Brown Leather Borders



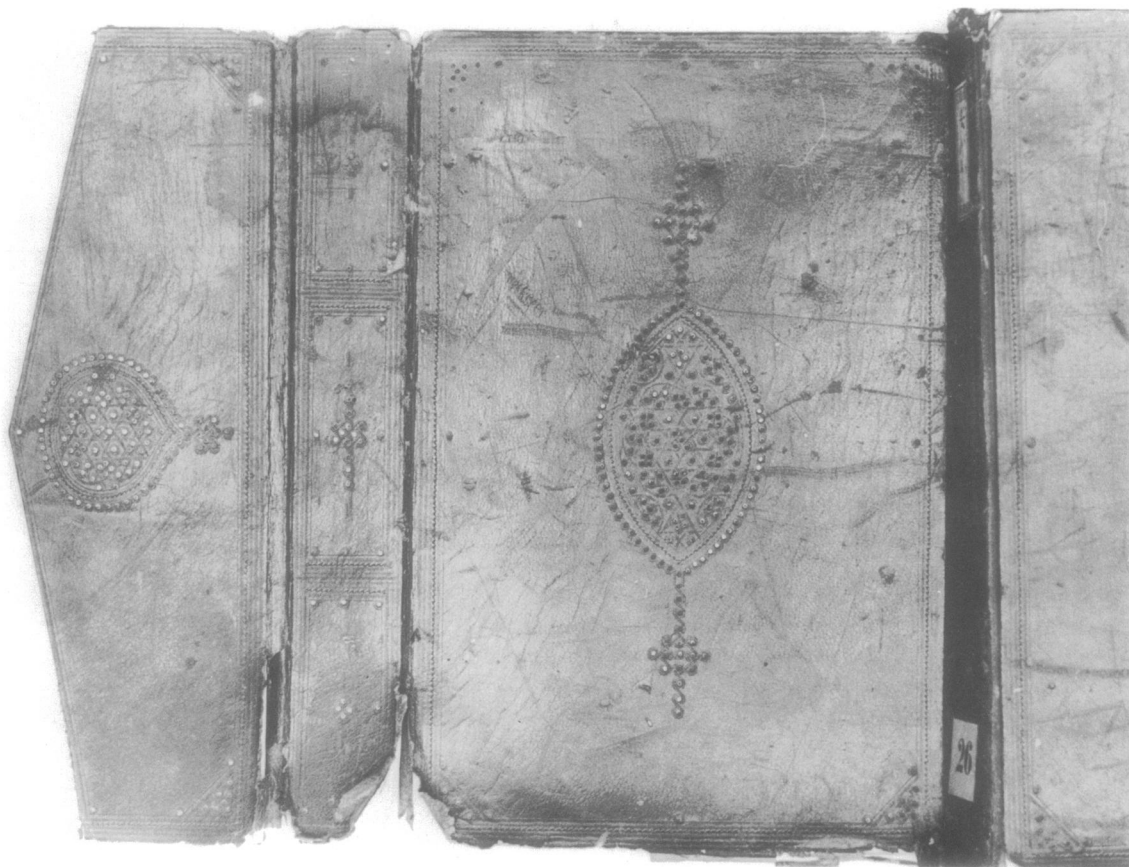
10. *Gl 17*. Doublure, detail, Central
Blind-tooled Medallion.
Dark Brown Goatskin



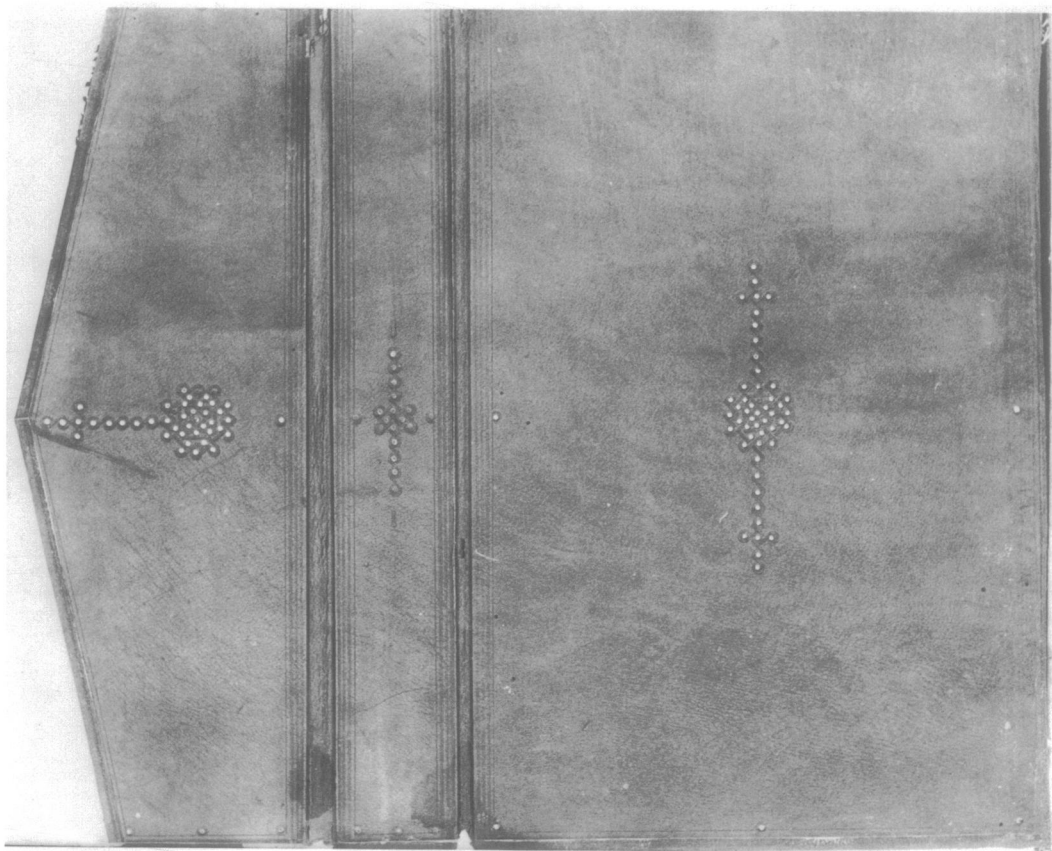
11. GI 24. C. Buondelmonti, *Islands of the Archipelago*. Lower Cover, Fore-edge Flap, Envelope Flap, and Spine. Black Goatskin, Blind Tooled and Gold Dot Stamped



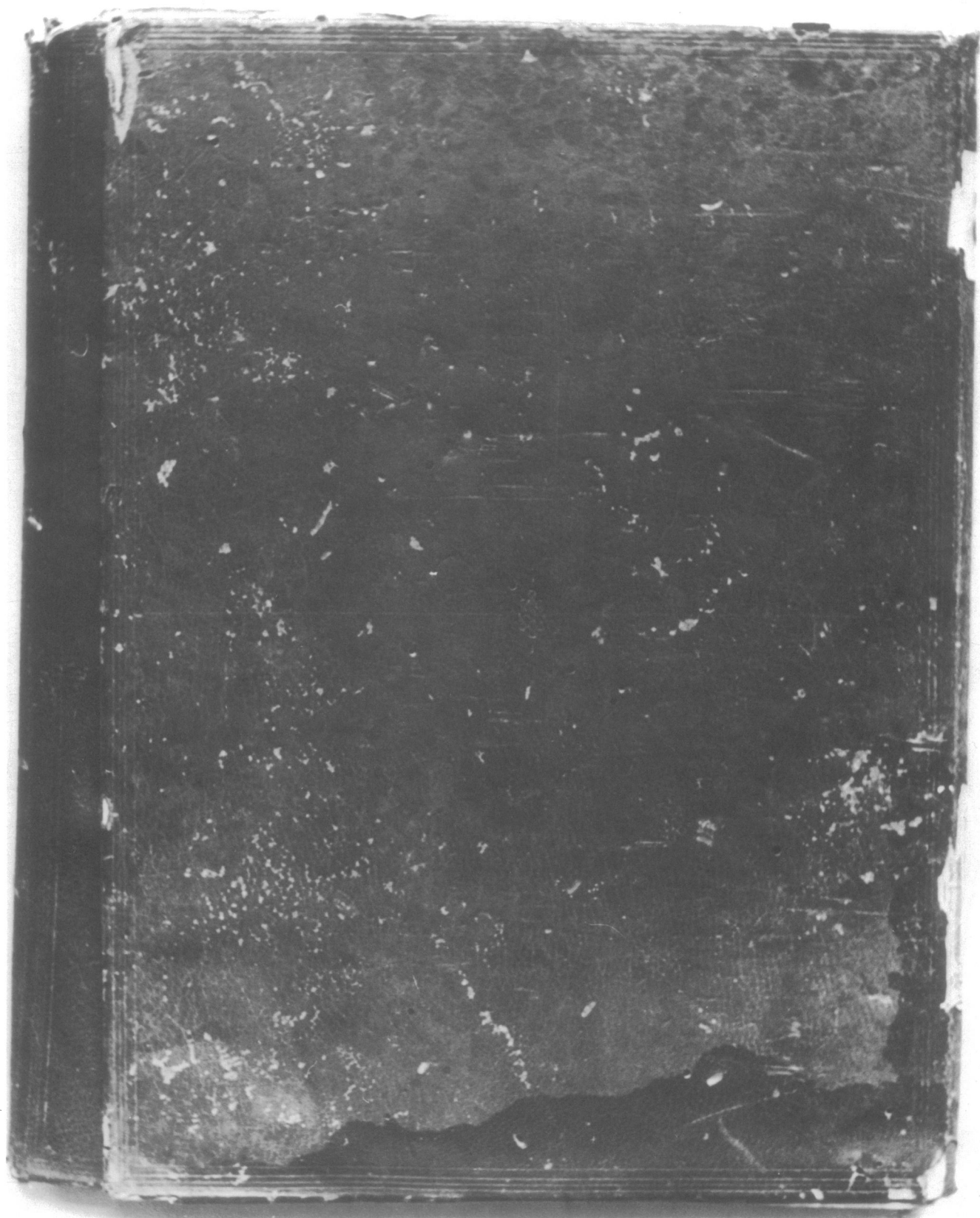
12. GI 33. Lower Cover, Fore-edge Flap, Envelope Flap, and Spine. Black Goatskin, Blind Tooled



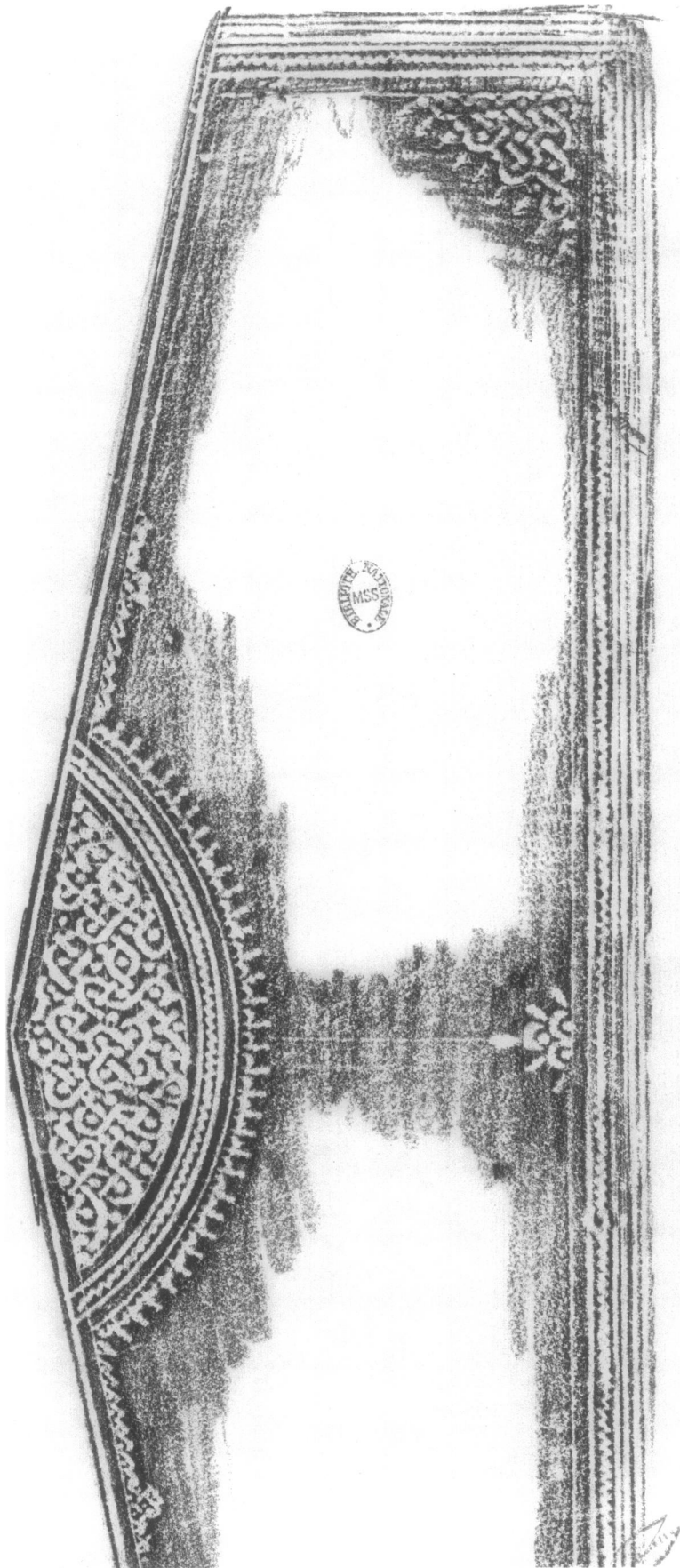
13. *GI 26*. Lower Cover, Fore-edge Flap, Envelope Flap, and Spine.
Black Goatskin, Blind Tooled and Gold Dot Stamped



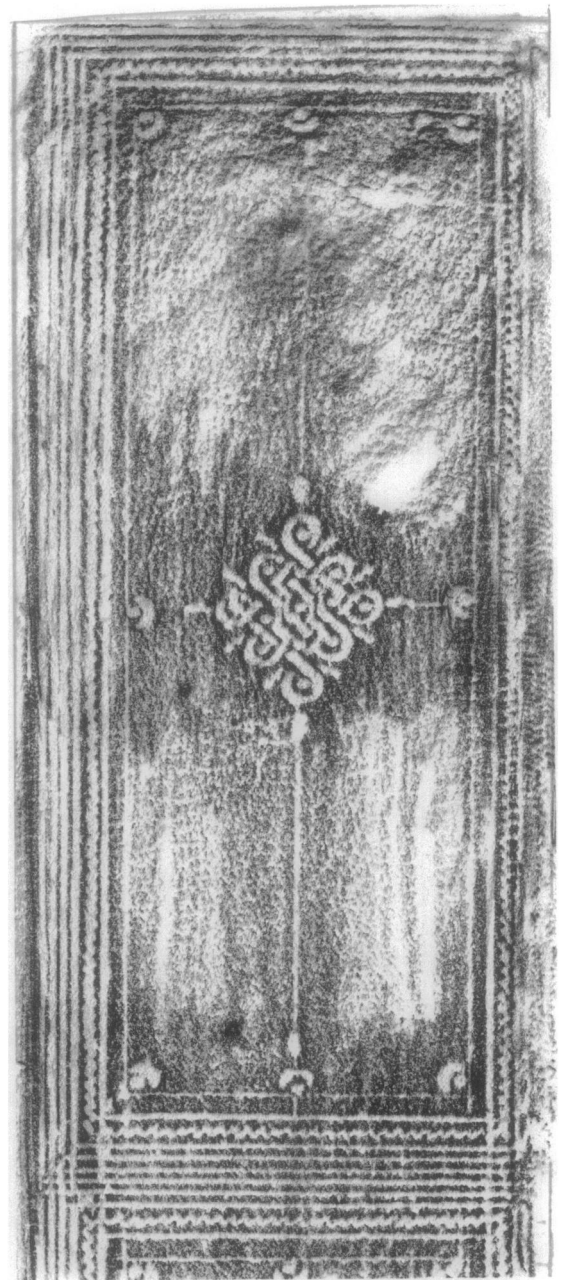
14. *GI 26*. Doublure.
Red Goatskin, Blind Tooled and Gold Dot Stamped



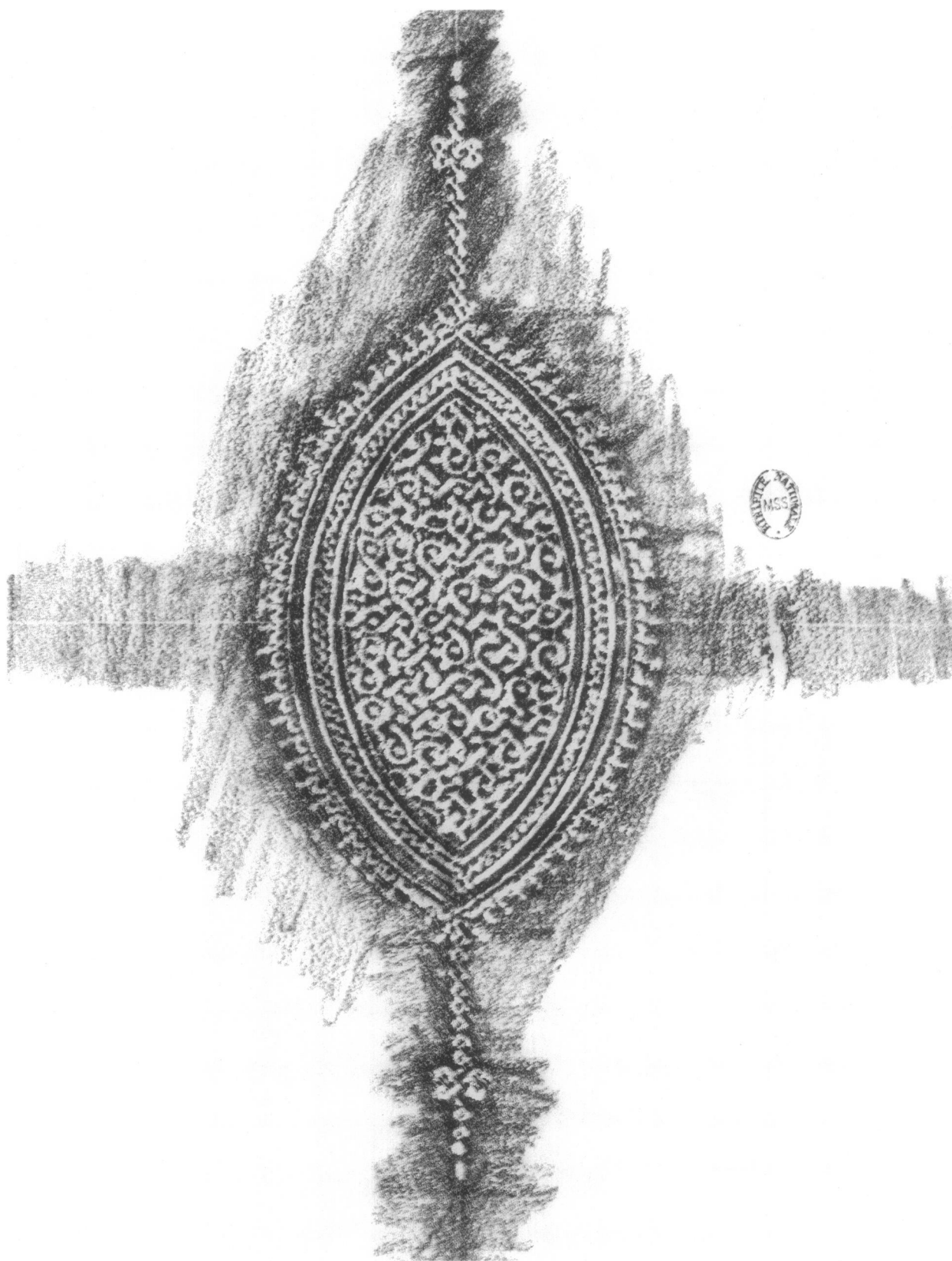
15. *GI 32*. Upper Cover.
Dark Brown Goatskin



A. Envelope Flap, Exterior, detail



B. Fore-edge Flap, Exterior, Upper Part



C. Upper Cover, Exterior, detail

16. *Paris, gr. 2685*. Rubbing of Blind-tooled Decoration (actual size)



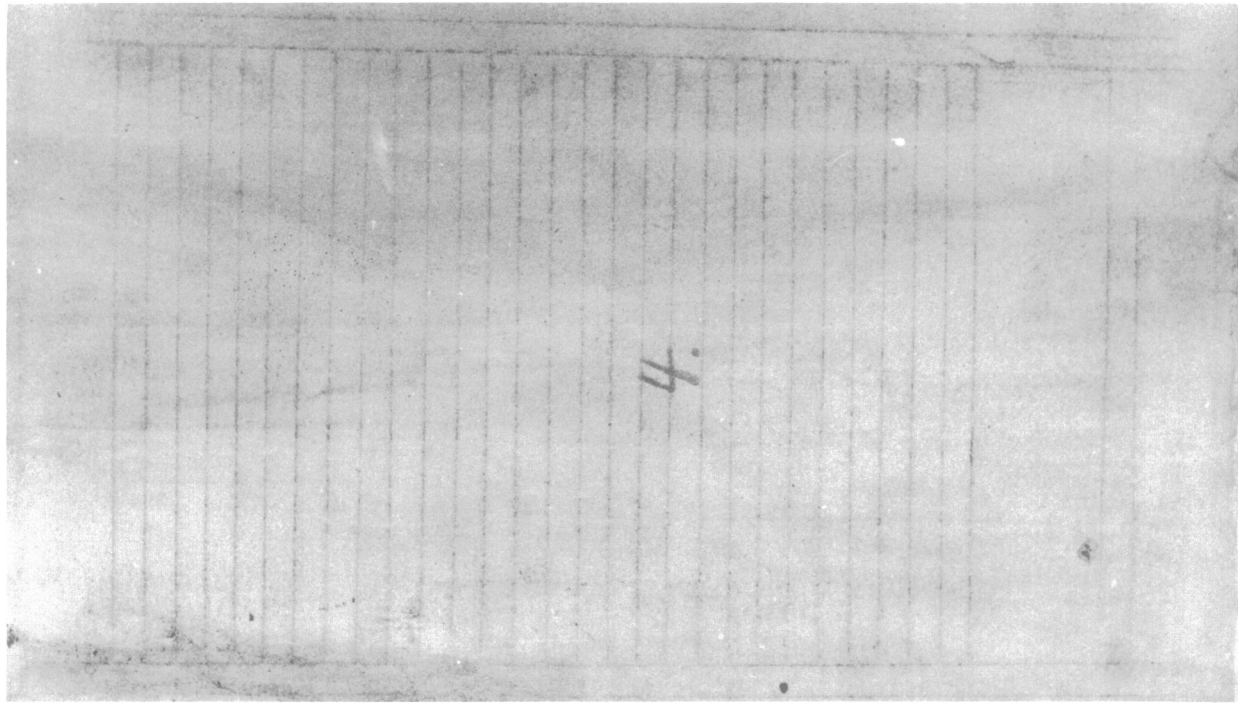
18. Fol. 64^r

1
 2
 3
 4
 5
 6
 7
 8
 9
 10
 11
 12
 13
 14
 15
 16
 17
 18
 19
 20
 21
 22
 23
 24
 25
 26
 27
 28
 29
 30
 31
 32
 33
 34
 35
 36
 37
 38
 39
 40
 41
 42
 43
 44
 45
 46
 47
 48
 49
 50
 51
 52
 53
 54
 55
 56
 57
 58
 59
 60
 61
 62
 63
 64
 65
 66
 67
 68
 69
 70
 71
 72
 73
 74
 75
 76
 77
 78
 79
 80
 81
 82
 83
 84
 85
 86
 87
 88
 89
 90
 91
 92
 93
 94
 95
 96
 97
 98
 99
 100
 101
 102
 103
 104
 105
 106
 107
 108
 109
 110
 111
 112
 113
 114
 115
 116
 117
 118
 119
 120
 121
 122
 123
 124
 125
 126
 127
 128
 129
 130
 131
 132
 133
 134
 135
 136
 137
 138
 139
 140
 141
 142
 143
 144
 145
 146
 147
 148
 149
 150
 151
 152
 153
 154
 155
 156
 157
 158
 159
 160
 161
 162
 163
 164
 165
 166
 167
 168
 169
 170
 171
 172
 173
 174
 175
 176
 177
 178
 179
 180
 181
 182
 183
 184
 185
 186
 187
 188
 189
 190
 191
 192
 193
 194
 195
 196
 197
 198
 199
 200
 201
 202
 203
 204
 205
 206
 207
 208
 209
 210
 211
 212
 213
 214
 215
 216
 217
 218
 219
 220
 221
 222
 223
 224
 225
 226
 227
 228
 229
 230
 231
 232
 233
 234
 235
 236
 237
 238
 239
 240
 241
 242
 243
 244
 245
 246
 247
 248
 249
 250
 251
 252
 253
 254
 255
 256
 257
 258
 259
 260
 261
 262
 263
 264
 265
 266
 267
 268
 269
 270
 271
 272
 273
 274
 275
 276
 277
 278
 279
 280
 281
 282
 283
 284
 285
 286
 287
 288
 289
 290
 291
 292
 293
 294
 295
 296
 297
 298
 299
 300
 301
 302
 303
 304
 305
 306
 307
 308
 309
 310
 311
 312
 313
 314
 315
 316
 317
 318
 319
 320
 321
 322
 323
 324
 325
 326
 327
 328
 329
 330
 331
 332
 333
 334
 335
 336
 337
 338
 339
 340
 341
 342
 343
 344
 345
 346
 347
 348
 349
 350
 351
 352
 353
 354
 355
 356
 357
 358
 359
 360
 361
 362
 363
 364
 365
 366
 367
 368
 369
 370
 371
 372
 373
 374
 375
 376
 377
 378
 379
 380
 381
 382
 383
 384
 385
 386
 387
 388
 389
 390
 391
 392
 393
 394
 395
 396
 397
 398
 399
 400
 401
 402
 403
 404
 405
 406
 407
 408
 409
 410
 411
 412
 413
 414
 415
 416
 417
 418
 419
 420
 421
 422
 423
 424
 425
 426
 427
 428
 429
 430
 431
 432
 433
 434
 435
 436
 437
 438
 439
 440
 441
 442
 443
 444
 445
 446
 447
 448
 449
 450
 451
 452
 453
 454
 455
 456
 457
 458
 459
 460
 461
 462
 463
 464
 465
 466
 467
 468
 469
 470
 471
 472
 473
 474
 475
 476
 477
 478
 479
 480
 481
 482
 483
 484
 485
 486
 487
 488
 489
 490
 491
 492
 493
 494
 495
 496
 497
 498
 499
 500
 501
 502
 503
 504
 505
 506
 507
 508
 509
 510
 511
 512
 513
 514
 515
 516
 517
 518
 519
 520
 521
 522
 523
 524
 525

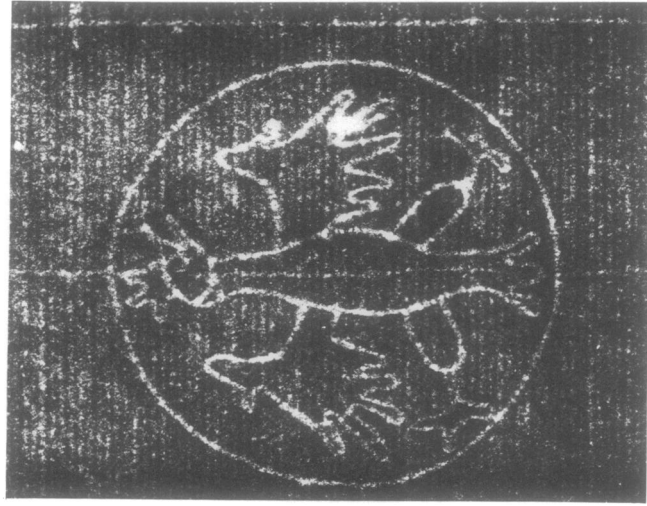
[illegible]



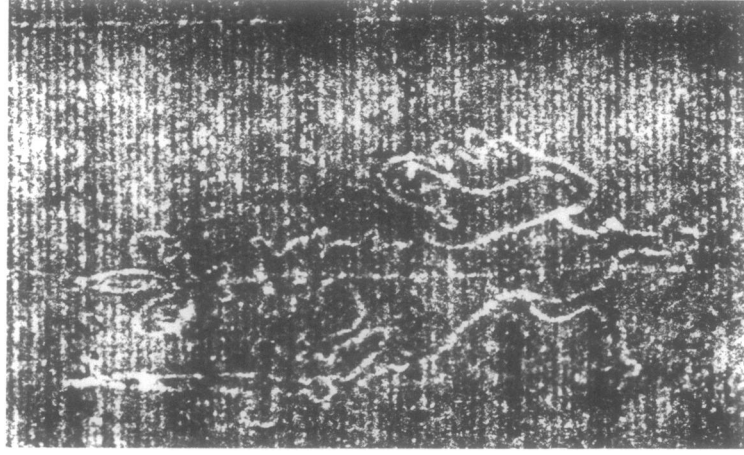
19. *GI 13* Exegesis of the Psalms. Upper Cover.
Gold-tooled Central Medallion



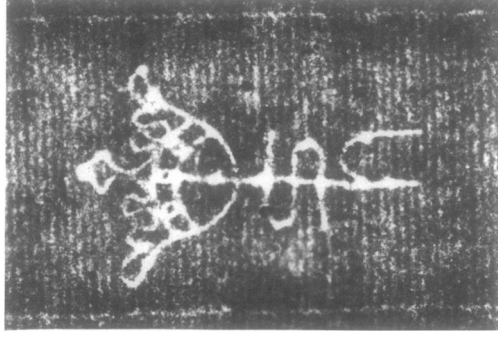
20. *GI 4*. Flyleaf with Impression of *Mistar* or Ruling Frame,
Darkened by Contact with Doublure



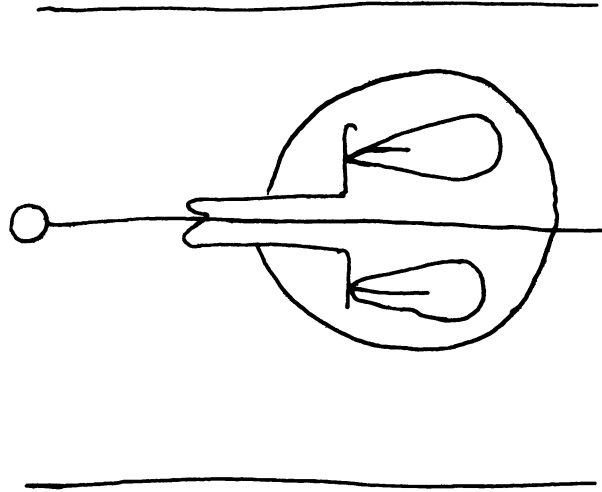
A. Paris. gr. 2685, fol. iv: Aigle



B. Paris. gr. 2685, fol. 236:
Armoiries-lion

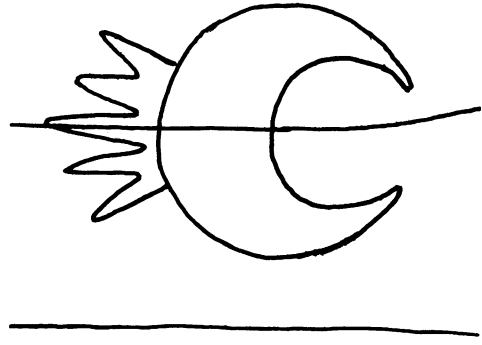


C. Paris. gr. 2685, fol. 33:
Couronne 31

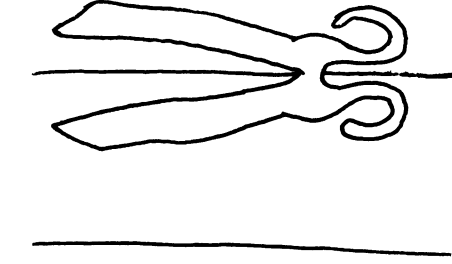


E. GI 10, fol. 57: Balance B

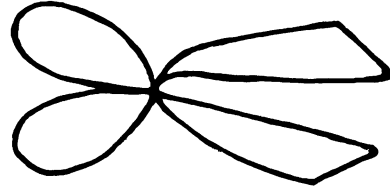
D. GI 10, fol. 5: Balance A



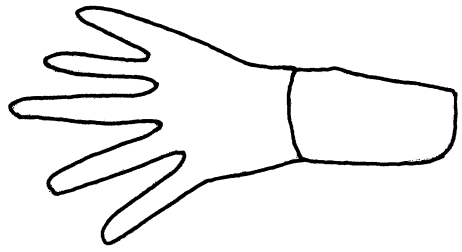
H. GI 10, fol. 47: Croissant



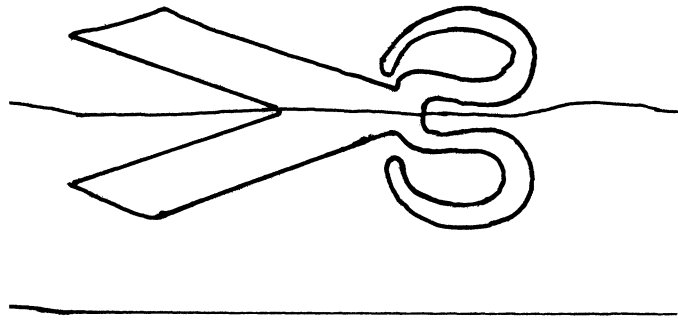
G. GI 10, fol. 63:
Ciseaux Z



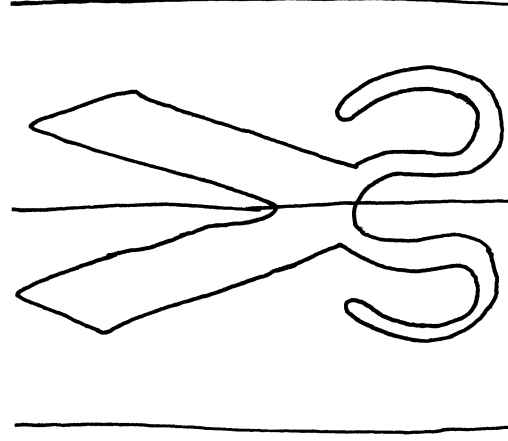
F. GI 10, fol. 7:
Ciseaux Y



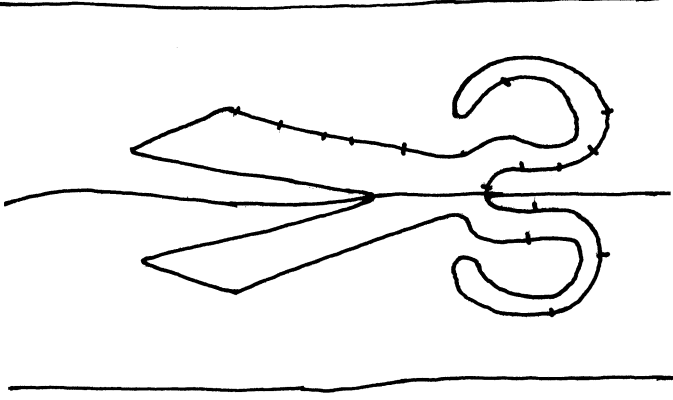
I. *GI 10*, fol. 26:
Main Ouverte



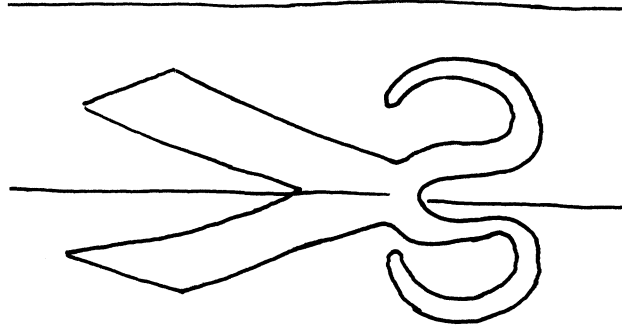
J. *GI 32*, fol. 6: Ciseaux S



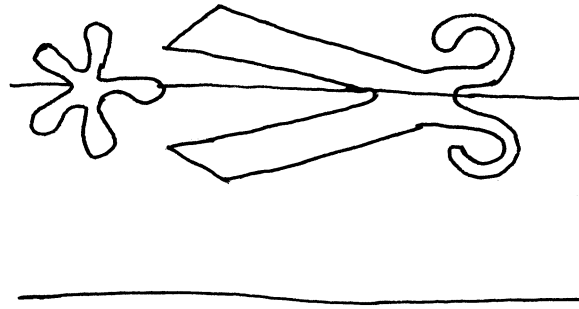
K. *GI 12*, fol. 7: Ciseaux T



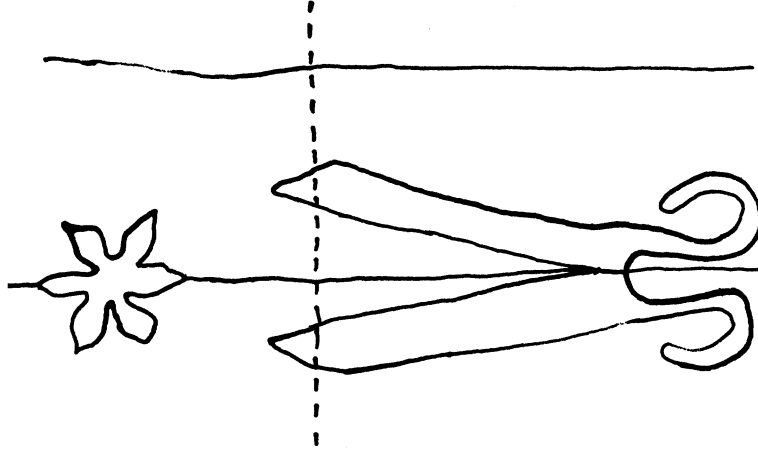
L. *GI 17*, Pasteboarding:
Ciseaux U



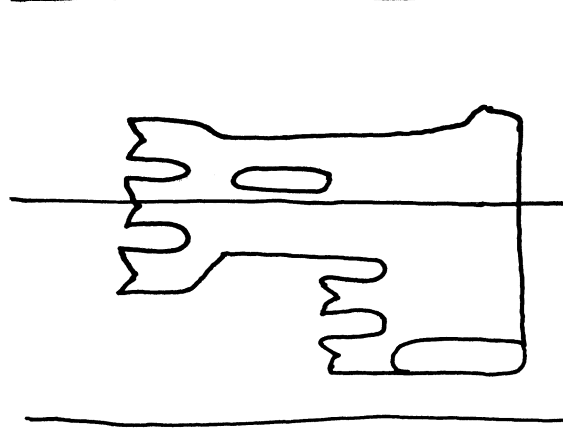
M. *GI 17*, Pasteboarding:
Ciseaux V



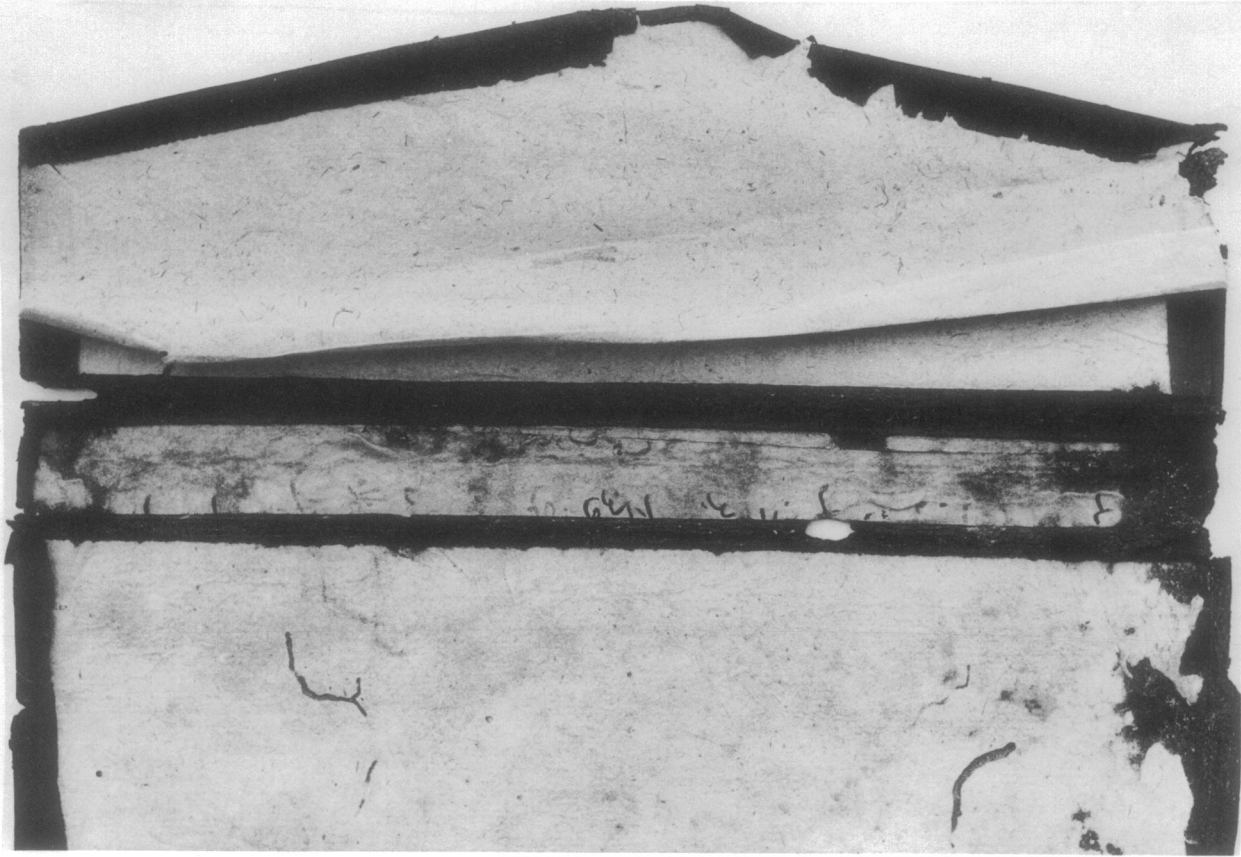
N. *GI 53*, fol. 1: Ciseaux W



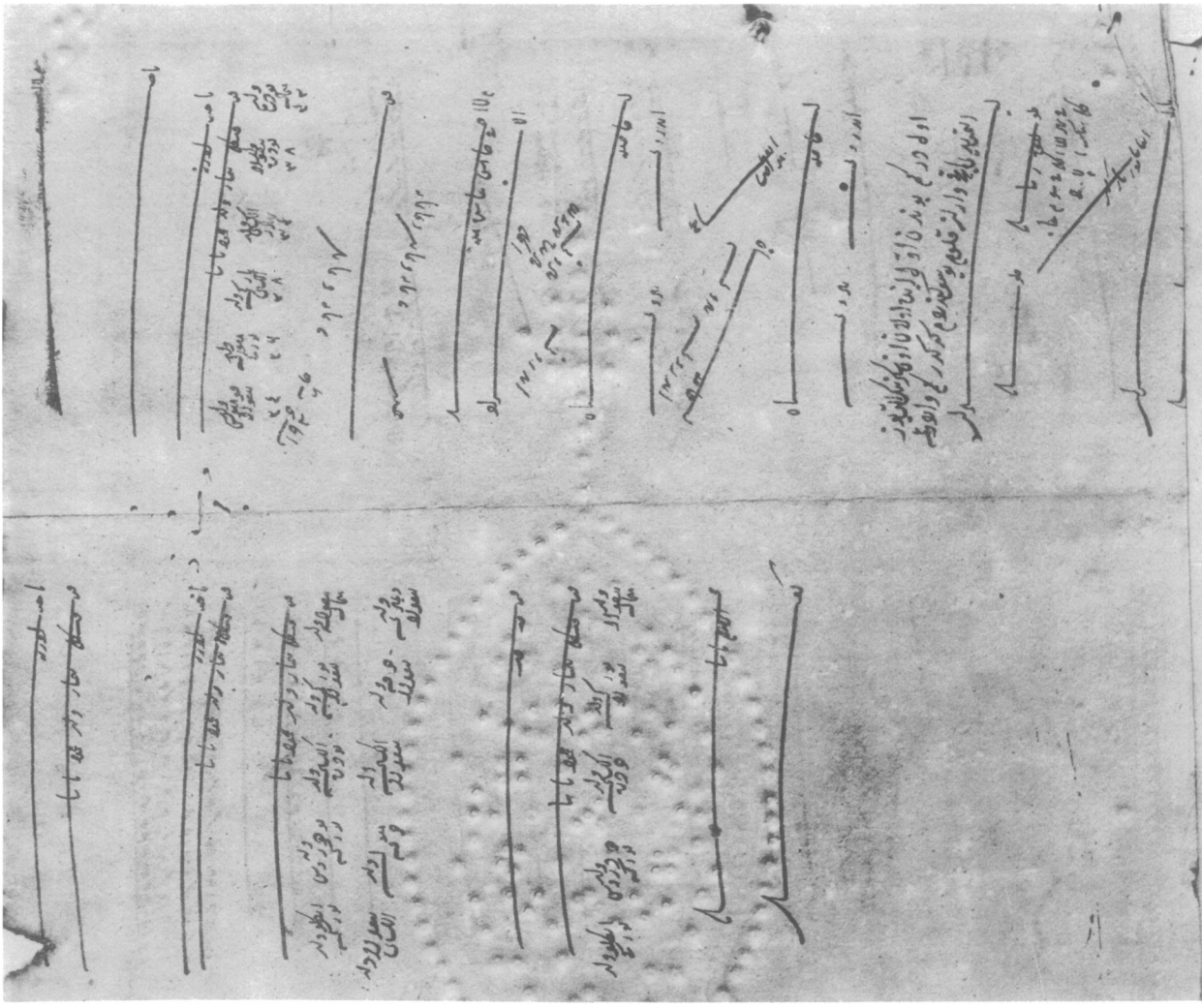
O. *GI 53*, fols. 20 and 23:
Ciseaux X



P. *GI 15*, fol. 3: Tour



22. *Gf 6*. Lower Cover, Pasteboarding. Detail of Envelope Flap and Fore-edge Flap



23. *Gf 26*. Ottoman Finance Chancellery Documents Used as Pasteboarding. Note Impression left by Tools Used to Decorate Lower Cover (cf. fig. 13)

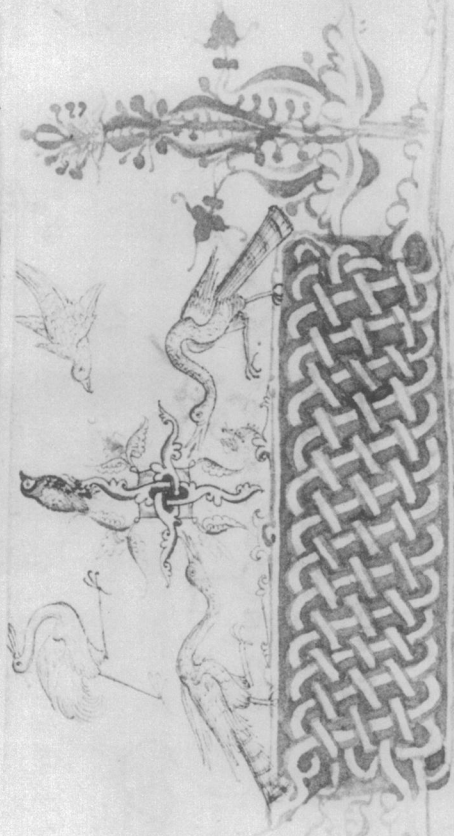
Πτολεμαῖος σὺλγου, καὶ ἀρὶ σὸ βουλις ὁ ἀρὶ σὸ βούλου.
Ὅσα μὲν ταῦτα ἀμφω παρὶ ἀλέξανδρου τοῦ φιλιππου
σαυ ἐγένεσαν, ταῦτα ἐγὼ ὡς πάν' ἀληθῆ ἀναγράφω.
Ὅσα δὲ οὐ ταῦτα, τούτων τὰ πῖ σὸ τὸρα ὁμνίφαι νόμῳ,
καὶ ἀμα ἀξίαφίγη τὸ τὸρα ἐπὶ λέξεμεν. αἱ τοί
μὲν δὲ ἀλλὰ ὑπὲρ ἀλέξανδρου ἀνέγενταν. οὐ δὲ σῖν
ὑπὲρ ὅτου πλείον, ἐ' ἀξίμφων ὁ τὸρα ἀλλήλοισι.
ἀλλ' ἐμὶ, πτολεμαῖος τε καὶ ἀρὶ σὸ βουλις, πῖ σὸ τὸρα
ἐ' δὲ γενέτω ἀφ' ἡσὶν. ὁ μὲν ὅτ' ἐξωστρετασε βασι^{λε}
ἀλέξανδρῳ, ἀρὶ σὸ βουλις. πτολεμαῖος δὲ, πρὸς τῷ
ἐν σπείρῳ, ὅτ' ἐπὶ αὐτῷ βασιλγεῖ ὄντι, αἰσχρότητον
ἐ' τῷ ἀνὰ ψάσσαλ' ἦν. ἀμφω δὲ, ὅτ' ἐτελεσθῆν
ἡ δὲ ἀλέξανδρου ἐγγεφυοσίμ. ὅτ' ἐπὶ αὐτῷ ἡ τε ἀνα^{τα}
γὰ καὶ ὁ μεσθός τοῦ ἀλλῶς τί ἐ' ὡς ἐκωστέθη, ἐγγε^{ται}
αὐτῷ. ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ πρὸς ἀλλῶν ἐγγεγεμεν. ὅτ' ἐπὶ
αὐτῷ, ἀξίαφίγη τατέμ' ἐ' δὲ, καὶ οὐ σὸ τὸ ἀπὸς,
ὡς ἐγὼ μὲν μόνον ὑπὲρ ἀλέξανδρ', ἀνέγεντα. ὅς τις
δὲ θαυμάσεται, ἀν' ὅτου ἐπὶ τοσοῖς δὲ ἐγγεφεσὶ,
καὶ ὁμνί ἐπὶ νοῶν ἡ θεν ἡ δὲ ἐ' ἐγγεφε, τὰ τε ἐκὼν
πάν' ἀναλαξέμεν, καὶ τοῖς δὲ βίς ἡ μετ' ὁις ἐπὶ τῶν,
οὕτω θαυμάζω. λέγειται δὲ φιλιππου μὲν
ἐτελεσθῆν, ἀπὸ ἀρ' ἡτοντος παρθόνου ἀθηνῶσι. ὅτ'
λεβόν δὲ τῷ βασιλγεῖαν ἀλέξανδρου, παύδα ὄντα,

am-tyou no yaxou!

ο σπασμωδικός των συληθόντων. Τα φαινόμενα είναι πολύ
λαμπρά. Φωτίζεται και το κεφάλι και ο λαιμός και το στήθος
και οι αρθρώσεις. Το σώμα γίνεται όλο μα εφελκυσμένο.

[illegible]

Ἀββὰς· ὁ ὄψων· ὁ ππρ. ἁ βλῆτα· μὴ βεβλῆμεν· ἡ ἡσασ
 μὴ ττρωμεν· ἁ βελίς· ὁ μὴ δέπεβεβλῆκας τοὺς ὀδόν
 τας· ὁ ξούγνωρίζετα ἡ χίμια τοῦ δόρου ζέου· ὁ ὄν
 ὄνον· ἡ πωσ· καὶ τω ὀμαίω· ἁ βραάμ· ππρσπλῶν
 ἐθῶν· ἁ βρόμιος· χεῖρις ὄνου· ἡ ὁ ὀίμος· βρόμος ὄρ
 ὁ δῖόνυσος· ὁ καὶ ἔφορος τοῦ οἴνου, κατῆλμα· ἁ
 βρομος· φορὺ βέου· ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔπαιτα τῆς ὀμπίου,
 καὶ τοῦ βρέμεν τοῦ ἡχέ· ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὁ φορὺ βητος· ὅθρ
 στή τοῦ ἁ· ἁ βροπῆμεν· ὁ ἁ μὲρ τυχός· ἁ βέρβηκος·
 ὁ ἁ κατῆτατος· ἁ βρακήμεν· μωρος· ἀδαλός· κοῦρος·



ρῆν ἡ ψὸς κεἰνόν τι τὸ ὑψίστον, πο-
 λὺς ἐστὶ βυζαντινὸς Ἰωάννης
 αὐτὸς ποταλάταις, ἡ σάμνην ἀκρο-
 ὀδὸς ἐν αὐτῇ ἡ γὰρ ἀποκρίσεις
 ποῦ δὲ ὅς ἐξ οὗ τὰς μαρτυρίας
 ἀντίδωκε, τὰς ἀποκρίσεις τῶν μαρτύρων
 δὲ κίον γὰρ ἀποκρίσεις ὅς ἀκρο-
 ἀγῶν ἡ λαὸς δὲ ὡς ἐξ ἡμεῶν τοῖς πο-
 λαίοις ἐκ τὰς ἀκροπολεις κίον
 τὰς ἀποκρίσεις οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ ποτα-
 λαίταις ἡ ἀποκρίσεις ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς

[illegible]

34. *GI* 33, fol. 54^r (cf. figs. 40–42)

ουσανων ἐλίκωνιαδων ἀρχω μεθ' ἀφ' ἑν.
 αἰθέρι κῶνος ἐχουσιν ὁρος μελίσσας θείον τ.
 Καί τε ἐπὶ κρήνην ἰοῦσ' ἀποσάπῃσι
 ὀρχῶνται· καὶ βωμόν ἐΐθεν έος κρονίωμος.
 Καί τε λοεσσαμένα τέρενα χροά περ μακροίο,
 ἢ ἰππου κρήνης κολμείου ζαβίοιο,
 ἀκροτάτῳ ἐλίκῳ νιχοροῖς ἐνεπείσσωτο.
 καλοῖς ἡμέροισιν· ἐπερρώσωντο δὲ ποσσίν·
 ἐνθεν δ' ὀρνυμένα κεκλυμένα κ' ἐπ' ὀφθαλμοῖς
 ἐννύχαισιν· περὶ καλεῖσθαι ἔτι·
 ὕμνῳ σαι δ' αὖται γίγχοι καὶ ποτνια νῆρμ,
 ἀργήλω· χρῦσέοισι πεδύλοισι μεβαῖον.

35. *GI 31*, fol. 5^r

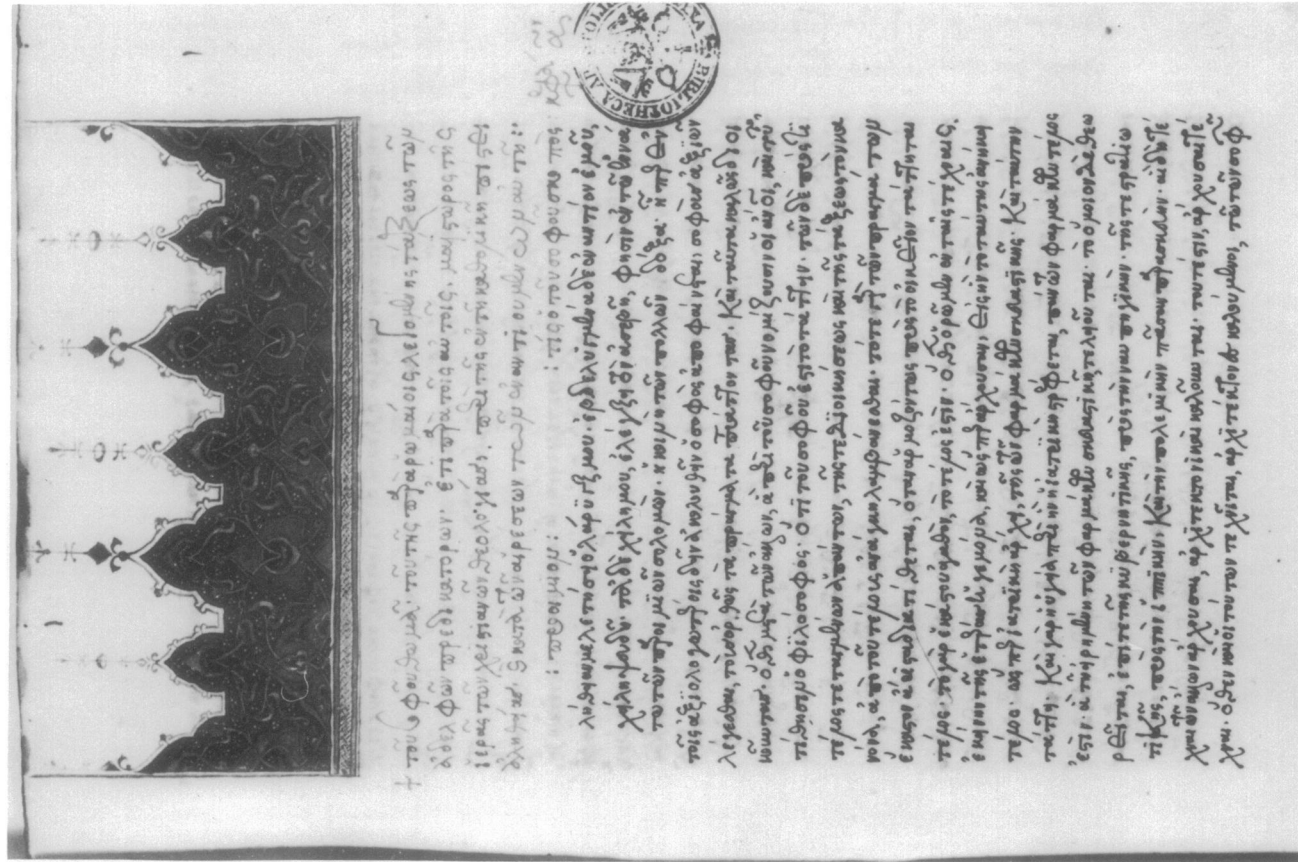
φῦτον ὡς αὐτόν ἀνιμίσει
βουλήσῃς, ἐπὶ κατέβη, ἰδὼν αὐτὸν
ὁ κύων, ἔδρακνεν αὐτόν, ὅπως μο
μίσει· ἐπὶ αὐτὸν ἔβη αὐτοῦ ἰκνῆ
τα βλαῖνον· ὁ δὲ ἔφη· δι' αἰὼς παρ
χω· τί γὰρ τὸν αὐτόν κατὰ κρημνί
σαντα, κίμδυνον ἀπολλάξαι ἔβου
λήθην;· ἀρχὴ τοῦ λῆ· μέθης·
Πέων κρηάσας· καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος
τρέφειν αὐτόν, ἐβλαβήθη πῆμινα
τα κμήθης, πούσε ποιεῖτο μοσμήν·
πασα γένοντα δὲ τὰ ῥῶα πούσε ἐπὶ
σκεψιν αὐτοῦ, συλλαβάνων κατὰ
σφίεναντα· σὺν τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἡ

τῆς κρήνης τοῦ ζώου λαμβάνει
ται· καὶ ὁ ξυδερκίαν πρὸς ἐχει·
τελεύτως δὲ, ποιεῖ πολλὰ καὶ
μεγάλα πράγματα· ὡς τε καὶ τ
ἐρσιοντία φαίμεθα:·

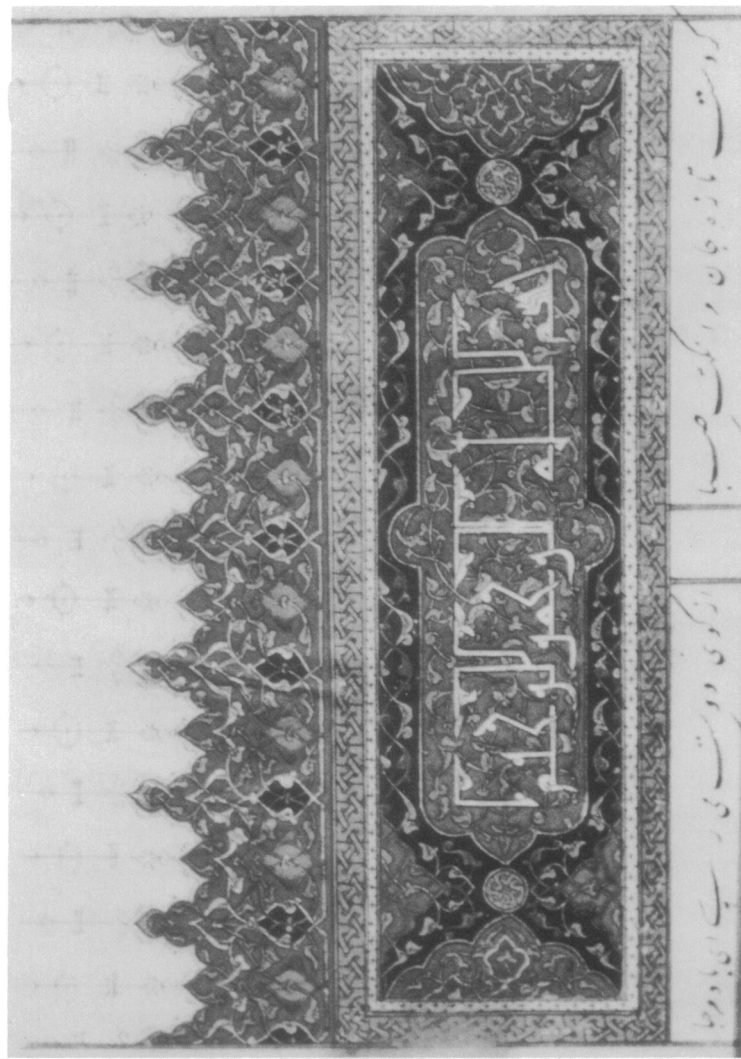
: πρὸς μὴ δυνάμενος:

Λίθος μὴ δυνάμενος· οὐτος ὁ λίθος
ἀνήκει τῇ ἀφροδίτῃ· γλυφόν
δὲ ἴσους τὸν λίθον πρὸς δύνει· φο
βούμενος γὰρ ὡφελῆσαι δύνει.

ἰοῦ λίου Ἰ' εὐκω σαρτι νο πό



42. Vat. gr. 613, fol. 1r



43. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, MS P. 112, 'Atiqi, Divan, fol. 2r. Dedicated to Mehmed.II